ACTA HISTRIAE

30, 2022, 2



UDK/UDC 94(05) ACTA HISTRIAE 30, 2022, 2, pp. 263-564 ISSN 1318-0185

UDK/UDC 94(05)

ISSN 1318-0185
e-ISSN 2591-1767

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper
Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria

ACTA HISTRIAE
30, 2022, 2

KOPER 2022

ISSN 1318-0185 UDK/UDC 94(05) Letnik 30, leto 2022, številka 2
e-ISSN 2591-1767

Izdajatelja/*Editori/ Published by:* Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria© / Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment / Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente©

Sedež/*Sede/Address:* Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, SI-6000, Koper-Capodistria, Garibaldijeva 18 / Via Garibaldi 18, e-mail: actahistriae@gmail.com; https://zdjp.si/

Tisk/*Stampa/Print:* Založništvo PADRE d.o.o.

Naklada/Tiratura/Copies: 300 izvodov/copie/copies

Finančna podpora/ *Supporto finanziario/ Financially supported by:* Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije / Slovenian Research Agency, Mestna občina Koper

Slika na naslovnici/ *Foto di copertina/ Picture on the cover:* ***Dvoboj med Charlesom de Lamethom in Charlesom de Castriesom 12. oktobra 1790. Jean-François Janinet (1752-1814) (Muzej Carnavalet, Pariz) / Duel between Charles de Lameth and Charles de Castries on October 12 1790. Jean-François Janinet (1752-1814) (Carnavalet Museum, Paris) / Duello tra Charles de Lameth e Charles de Castries del 12 ottobre 1790. Jean-François Janinet (1752-1814) (Museo Carnavalet, Parigi).***

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 30. junija 2022.

Revija Acta Histriae je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / Gli articoli pubblicati in questa rivista sono inclusi nei seguenti indici di citazione / Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in: CLARIVATE ANALYTICS (USA): Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), Social Scisearch, Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), Journal Citation Reports / Social Sciences Edition (USA); IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) (UK); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); DOAJ.

Navodila avtorjem in vsi članki v barvni verziji so prosto dostopni na spletni strani: https://zdjp.si.
Le norme redazionali e tutti gli articoli nella versione a colori sono disponibili gratuitamente sul sito: https://zdjp.si/it/.
The submission guidelines and all articles are freely available in color via website http: https://zdjp.si/en/.

UDK/UDC 94(05) Volume 30, Koper 2022, issue 2 ISSN 1318-0185
e-ISSN 2591-1767

VSEBINA / *INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS*

Received: 2021-04-02 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.12

TRAGIČEN VSTOP V NOVO LETO: SMRT FRANCA JOŽEFA GROFA HERBERSTEINA V DVOBOJU 2. JANUARJA 1713

Matjaž GRAHORNIK
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti,
Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: matjaz.grahornik@zrc-sazu.si

IZVLEČEK

Članek obravnava dvoboj med Francem Jožefom grofom Herbersteinom in Francem Albertom grofom Rechbergom v začetku leta 1713. Mladi grof Herberstein je v dvoboju s precej starejšim komornikom bavarskega volilnega kneza prejel vbod v prsi, po katerem je kmalu zatem umrl. Precej natančna rekonstrukcija dvoboja je mogoča zaradi dobro ohranjenih virov, predvsem obsežnega fascikla deželnopravdnih spisov v Štajerskem deželnem arhivu v Gradcu. Smrt grofa Herbersteina je bila za rodbino toliko bolj tragična, ker je z njim v moški liniji izumrla starejša podveja prve stranske hrastovške veje.

Ključne besede: dvoboj, uboj, Franc Jožef grof Herberstein, Franc Albert grof Rechberg, 1713, Gradec

UN TRAGICO INGRESSO NELL'ANNO NUOVO: LA MORTE IN DUELLO DI FRANZ JOSEPH CONTE DI HERBERSTEIN IL 2 GENNAIO 1713

SINTESI

Il contributo tratta del duello tra Franz Joseph conte di Herberstein e Franz Albrecht conte di Rechberg, più vecchio di lui. Durante il duello avvenuto all'inizio dell'anno 1713 il giovane conte Herberstein ricevette dal ciambellano del principe elettore di Baviera una pugnalata al petto a causa della quale poco tempo dopo morì. Una ricostruzione alquanto precisa di questo scontro è stata possibile grazie a fonti archivistiche ben conservate, in particolare quelle raccolte nell'ampio fascicolo degli atti giuridici del tribunale provinciale di diritto comune custoditi nell'Archivio provinciale della Stiria a Graz. La morte del conte di Herberstein fu tanto più tragica per il suo casato poiché con lui si estinse in linea maschile il ramo più antico della prima diramazione laterale dei Gutenhag.

Parole chiave: duello, uccisione, Franz Joseph conte di Herberstein, Franz Albrecht conte di Rechberg, 1713, Graz

UVOD[1]

Ljudje si od nekdaj prizadevajo za čast in ugled (slavo), kar je bilo značilno tudi za vse sloje v zgodnje-novoveški Evropi, najbolj pa je do izraza prišlo pri plemstvu. Za vse ljudi predmoderne dobe je najhujšo žalitev (krivico) predstavljala obtožba, da lažejo oziroma da so nečastni, na katero je bil, med statusno enakimi, do določene mere legitimen tudi nasilen odziv (Schwerhoff, 2013). Ko se je v renesančni Italiji kot ena od oblik reševanja sporov uveljavil dvoboj, se je z njim na Apeninskem polotoku in drugod v Evropi naprej razvijala tudi kultura (kodeks) časti, ki je s pomočjo bontonov in podobnih besedil postala ključni del izobraževalnega procesa in družbenega zavedanja mladih plemičev v obdobju med 16. in 18. stoletjem, kar so posnemali tudi ambicioznejši meščani (Cavina, 2016, 571, 585–586).

Zgodnji dvoboji so še bili javni in formalni postopki, kar je skupnosti, na primer meščanom ali lokalnim plemičem, omogočalo, da je lahko v sporu kadar koli posredovala in ga čim prej pomirila. Dvoboj je zato mogoče razlagati v okviru običajnega sistema reševanja sporov, tj. konceptov oziroma obredja maščevanja in sprave (pomiritve), v katerem sta bila čast in ponižanje dve plati iste medalje (Darovec, 2016, 38; 2017; 2018, 456–460).

Ob uveljavitvi dvoboja so pričeli na to temo izhajati prvi traktati (razprave), zato njihove avtorje imenujemo tudi traktisti. O dvobojih so v 16. stoletju prvi pisali predstavniki italijanskega humanizma, kot so Andrea Alciato, Girolamo Muzio, Giovanni Battista Possevino, Torquato Tasso, Sperone Speroni in drugi. Njihovi traktati so bili znani in kopirani po vsej Evropi. Eden zgodnjih italijanskih teoretikov o dvobojevanju je bil Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), za katerega je dvoboj bil nekaj, kar sta cerkveno in civilno pravo prepovedovala, a je bil povsem legitimen v običajnem pravu. Alciato je »boj, v katerem je sodnik Bog« v traktatu *De singulari certamine* (1529) označil za »vrsto preizkusa« in opisal sijaj triumfa zmagovalcev (Billacois, 1990, 19; Peltonen, 2003, 76).

Alciatu je kronološko sledil v Kopru rojeni humanist Girolamo Muzio (1496–1576). Muziev traktat *Il duello* (v treh knjigah) je skupaj z delom *Risposte cavalleresche* (v štirih knjigah) prvič izšel leta 1550 v Benetkah in je takoj postal uspešnica, ne samo v Italiji, ampak po vsej Evropi. Muzio je s svojim poznavanjem dvornega življenja postal eden najbolj znanih avtorjev dvobojevalske literature. V traktatu je dvoboj opisal kot »boj mož na moža, da bi se dokazala resnica, pri čemer ta boj ni omejen zgolj na dva moža«. Predstavil je pravila in opisal, kaj naj bi plemiči vedeli o dvobojih, kdo se lahko odloči za dvoboj in kaj morajo vedeti dvobojevalci ter tisti, ki jim nudijo prostor za dvobojevanje. Raz-

1 Za komentar članka se zahvaljujem Žigi Omanu in Mihi Preinfalku ter anonimnim recenzentom. Tomažu Lazarju gre zahvala za razlago o ustreznem poimenovanju in natančnem opisu hladnega orožja, s katerim sta se spopadla protagonista pričujočega članka. Za pomoč pri prevodu medicinskega izrazja se zahvaljujem Andražu Stožerju.

lago tehničnih izrazov je ponazoril tudi s praktičnimi primeri. V prvi knjigi piše o izvorih dvoboja, v drugi knjigi se posveti obveznostim in dolžnostim plemičev, v tretji pa dvobojevalcem in stopnjam plemstva. Ker je bila magija v 16. stoletju enako živa kot v srednjem veku, so t. i. dvobojevalski mojstri pred javnimi dvoboji natančno pregledali dvobojevalce, da niso pod obleko skrivali kakšnega amuleta, talismana ali praznega pergamenta, ki so ga dobili pri kakem mazaču ali »čarovniku«. Muzio je obsojal uporabo magije, ki bi lahko koristila kateremu od dvobojevalcev, kritiziral pa je tudi tiste, ki so se borili brez občinstva (prič, javnosti) in obrambnega orožja. Po njegovem mnenju pri častnem dvoboju uboj ni bil nujen. Njegovo delo v baročni liriki zlahka beremo kot opravičilo dvobojevanja. Čast poveličuje v nekakšno univerzalno gibalno silo in častno besedo kot pečat človeškega dostojanstva. Nadaljuje, da je laž najhujši greh, posledično pa »tisti, ki želijo biti cenjeni kot dobri bojevniki in za svoje viteštvo [...], svojega imena, v primeru, ko jih obtožijo laži, ne morejo oprati drugače kot z mečem«. Končno je zanj vsak dvoboj, do katerega ni privedlo sovraštvo ali maščevanje, »instrument, ki ga želi Bog uporabiti za uresničevanje svoje pravičnosti«, in kot tak pravičen in hvalevreden. Njegov traktat o dvobojevanju je v 16. stoletju doživel vsaj enajst italijanskih izdaj, eno v španščini (1552) in tri v francoščini (1561, 1582 in 1604); v francoski jezik ga je prevedel Antoine Chappuys (Štoka & Vrabec, 2013, 26–27; Borsetto & Glavina, 2013, 74–75; Glavina, 2013, 26–27; Carroll, 2016, 118; Billacois, 1990, 19–20; Muzio, 1585).

Kot tretjega od zgodnjih traktistov o dvoboju je treba navesti Giovannija Battista (Giambattista) Possevina (1522–1552). Dvoboju se je zlasti posvetil v zadnji, peti knjigi *Dialogo dell'Honore* (1553), v kateri pohvalno govori o plemiški časti, kreposti, *démentiju* in dvoboju. Delo je leto po njegovi zgodnji smrti izdal njegov mlajši brat Antonio. Zanimanje za dvoboje v Italiji je počasi pojenjalo po letu 1563 kot posledica tridentinskega koncila, ki jih je prepovedal in zanje predvidel kazni (Billacois, 1990, 19; Carroll, 2016, 117–118; Štoka & Vrabec, 2013, 27; Ludwig, 2016, 69).

Trije izpostavljeni italijanski traktisti so močno vplivali na francoske dvobojevalce 16. stoletja. Niso pa bili edini. V obdobju med letoma 1550 in 1563 je izšlo najmanj 27 publikacij na temo dvoboja in ohranitve časti oziroma zadoščenja za krivico (Carroll, 2016, 118). Do konca 16. stoletja so se Francozi teorije dvobojevanja pa tudi mečevanja v praksi nedvomno učili iz Italije. Z deli Oliviera de La Marcheja in Villiersa de L'Isleja Adama iz leta 1586 so ta fenomen povsem prevzeli, tako da je postal del njihove tradicije. Ob traktistih so se hitro oglasili tudi nasprotniki dvobojevanja, t. i. proti-traktisti. Eden prvih je bil Giovanni Battista Susio, ki je razpravo zoper dvoboje izdal leta 1558. Veliko vplivnejše je bilo delo Rinalda Corsa *Delle private rappacificationi* iz leta 1555, v katerem je krščanske nauke in humanistično etiko združil z zakoni o časti. Delo je bilo večkrat ponatisnjeno, nazadnje leta 1730 (Carroll, 2016, 118; Billacois, 1990, 20). Najstarejši znani francoski mojster mečevanja, Henry de Sainct Didier, se je naslanjal na inštrukcije italijanskih mojstrov mečevanja. Od njegovih številnih

traktatov se je ohranil zgolj tisti iz leta 1573, z navodili za dvobojevanje z enoročnim rapirjem (*Les secrets du premier livre sur l'espée seule*).[2]

Girolamo Cavalcabo, mojster mečevanja iz Bologne, je konec 16. in v zgodnjem 17. stoletju poučeval mečevanje v Rimu in pozneje v Parizu. Njegov traktat oziroma rokopis z inštrukcijami mečevanja je bil preveden v francoščino in je v Franciji med letoma 1595 in 1617 izšel vsaj štirikrat. Nicoletto Giganti, italijanski mojster mečevanja z rapirjem v 17. stoletju, ki je domnevno izviral iz Benetk, je traktat o dvobojevanju izdal leta 1606. Preveden je bil v francoščino in nemščino ter izdan v letih 1619, 1622 in 1644 (Billacois, 1990, 19).

Zgodnji traktisti o dvobojevanju na ozemlju Svetega rimskega cesarstva so bili Peter Binsfeld (ok. 1545–1598), Hermann Busenbaum (tudi Busembaum; 1600–1668) in Paul Laymann (živel v drugi polovici 17. stoletja). Razpravam v primerjavi z italijanskimi in francoskimi manjka originalnosti. Trierski pomožni nadškof in teolog Binsfeld je o dvoboju na kratko pisal v odstavku o ugovoru vesti, ko je zagovarjal vojakovo pravico do nesodelovanja v nepravičnem boju ali vojni. Jezuit in moralni teolog Laymann je v svojem delu *Theologia moralis* (1691) mdr. navedel, da so bili Nemci in druga severna ljudstva izvzeti iz cerkvenega izobčenja, s katerim je papež Klemen VIII. na tridentinskem koncilu prepovedal dvoboje in močno zmanjšal število njihovih pristašev, a trditve ni podkrepil z dokazi (Billacois, 1990, 24).

Od (proti)traktistov preidimo za nekaj stoletij naprej, do publikacij sodobnega zgodovinopisja na temo dvobojev. Na prvem mestu velja izpostaviti študijo o mentalitetah in vedénju francoskega plemstva zgodnjega novega veka. Disertacija Françoisa Billacoisa o dvoboju v Franciji 16. in 17. stoletja je pozneje izšla v knjižni obliki in bila prevedena tudi v angleški jezik (Billacois, 1990). Avtor dvoboj pojmuje kot legitimen družbeni ritual z daljnosežnimi političnimi, moralnimi in verskimi posledicami. Za razliko od fajde, ki jo je razumel povsem tradicionalistično,[3] je dvoboj z njegovimi pravili imel za bolj civilizirano obliko reševanja sporov (Carroll, 2016, 111). Billacois je menil, da je bil dvoboj v zgodnjem novem veku pretežno francoski fenomen, saj manija dvobojevanja v nobeni drugi evropski državi naj ne bi imela takšnega odmeva. V delu razloži kronološki razvoj dvoboja: od srednjeveških začetkov je preko javne božje sodbe v navzočnosti vladarja (sodni dvoboj) v novem veku postal nelegalna in prevratna praksa, ki sta jo obsodili in preganjali tako cerkvena kot pozneje tudi posvetna oblast. Z dvobojem je povezal ter razložil simbole in koncepte meča, časti in pravičnosti. V knjigi *Blood and Violence* se je francoskim dvobojem posvetil Stuart Carroll, ki je sicer še danes referenčno delo Billacoisa v več pogledih nadgradil (Carroll, 2006). Ugotovil je, da se je dvoboj razvil v Italiji 16. stoletja

2 Okoli leta 1573 je za obdobje desetih let prejel kraljevi privilegij za traktate o dvobojih z različnim orožjem, vključujoč bodalo, enostranski meč, dvostranski meč, meč in plašč, meč in bodalo, meč in majhen ščit (buckler), meč in ščit (rotella in targe) ter za dvoročni (ali dolgi) meč (Henry de Sainct Didier, 2021).

3 O tej problematiki prim. npr. Darovec et al., 2017, 394–402.

in si utrl pot v Francijo z nižjim plemstvom in najemniškimi vojaki, ki so se borili v Italiji. Preko njih je fenomen hitro sprejelo francosko višje plemstvo do te mere, da se je ta kljub večkratnim prepovedim oblasti ohranil čez celotno 17. stoletje. Carroll prikaže zanimiv portret francoske družbe z močno ponotranjenim kodeksom časti. Francosko plemstvo je dvoboje v primerjavi z angleškim ali italijanskim izbiralo v tolikšni meri, da so ti obveljali za pravo manijo ali »posebno francosko bolezen«. Vzpon dvobojev se je tam začel v dvajsetih letih 16. stoletja in je stoletje pozneje dosegel razcvet. Carroll ugotovi podobno kot Billacois, ko zapiše, da so se dvoboji v Franciji tako razmahnili zaradi šibke osrednje oblasti v času verskih oziroma državljanskih vojn, ki ji je uspelo svoj ugled obnoviti šele v drugi polovici 17. in v 18. stoletju. V manjši meri so se nadaljevali še globoko v 19. stoletje. Da je bil dvoboj bolj »civiliziran« od fajde, Carroll ovrže kot mit in postavi tezo, da je pri tem šlo (tudi) za simbolni upor plemstva zoper kraljevo oblast, ki je izgrajevala vse bolj absolutistično državo (Carroll, 2006, 9).

Carroll se je nedavno posvetil tudi dvobojem na Apeninskem polotoku v razpravi o maščevanju in spravi v Italiji zgodnjega novega veka (Carroll, 2016). Kot že poudarjeno, velja renesančna Italija za »zibelko« dvoboja. Edini način za obvladovanje nasilja dvobojev, prepletenih s političnimi boji, državljanskimi vojnami oziroma medrodbinskimi fajdami, je bila razširjena raba pomilostitev, s katerimi so bili povezani visoki stroški in so si jih lahko privoščili le premožnejši. Problem plemiškega nasilja je bil tam dokončno pod nadzorom šele v prvih desetletjih 18. stoletja. Navkljub dokazom o plemiškem nasilju pa je ohranjenih virov o dvobojevanju v Italiji zgodnjega novega veka malo. Sodna prepoved je dvoboje namreč potisnila v ilegalo, podobno kot v Franciji. Za razliko od traktatov in priročnikov za dvobojevanje, ki so se hitro razširili po vsej stari celini, pa italijanski traktati o spravi drugod po Evropi niso našli odmeva (Carroll, 2016, 109, 112, 119, 136–138).

Družbenokulturno pojavnost dvoboja v Angliji zgodnjega novega veka je proučila Jennifer Low, s pritegnitvijo različnih dokumentov, vključno s priročniki za dvobojevanje, knjigami o dvornem življenju in traktati zoper dvoboje, pa tudi z dramami Williama Shakespeara, Bena Jonsona, Thomasa Heywooda, Thomasa Middletona, Williama Rowleyja in drugih (Low, 2003). Ker je dvoboj zahteval določeno mero poguma, je vključeval tudi opredelitve moškosti. Lowova opozori na kompleksnost fenomena moškosti med dvobojem v praksi in kot scenskim prikazom. Avtor pomembne študije o dvoboju v Angliji je tudi Markku Peltonen (2006). V njej se je posvetil raziskavam angleških dvobojev 17. in 18. stoletja, pri čemer se ni osredotočil na same dvoboje, pač pa je v obdobju med letoma 1500 in 1700 iz številnih letakov, dnevnikov, pisem in rokopisov natančno analiziral argumente, ki so to prakso zagovarjali ali jo obsojali. Analiza je razkrila, da so bili argumenti v prid dvoboju v središču spreminjajočih se pojmov o angleški *civility* in da jih je mogoče brati tudi kot prispevke k razpravi o nacionalni identiteti. Peltonen v knjigi izpodbija trditve nekaterih zgodovinarjev, mdr. Billacoisa, da je začetke dvoboja najti v srednjem veku, in razjasni, da se je dvoboj kot docela nov

fenomen uveljavil v renesančni Italiji (Peltonen, 2006, 12). V Angliji je dvoboj predstavljal uvoženo tradicijo, ki se je v obdobju 16. in 17. stoletja prilagodila lokalni kulturi.

Nemško zgodovinopisje je pretežno raziskovalo dvoboje 19. in 20. stoletja. Referenčna študija Ute Frevert prikazuje nemške dvoboje 19. stoletja kot fenomen z oblikovanim kodeksom dvobojevanja, kjer so se med seboj enak(ovredn)i borili z enakim orožjem (Frevert, 1991). Dvoboji zgodnjega novega veka na nemških tleh so postali predmet raziskav šele v zadnjih letih (Ludwig et al., 2012; Ludwig, 2016). Te so prinesle nekatera nova spoznanja; v prvi vrsti gre izpostaviti nemški kodeks dvobojevanja, ki se je izoblikoval šele v začetku 19. stoletja. Študentski dvoboji so, nasproti pričakovanjem, do konca 18. stoletja predstavljali zanemarljiv delež dvobojev, med dvobojevalci pa je najti vse sloje prebivalstva. Pri tem je treba poudariti, da zadnja študija Ludwigove analizira zlasti ozemlje severnega Svetega rimskega cesarstva z vojvodino Mecklenburg in kraljevino Saško. Na študije o dvobojih na ozemlju habsburških dednih dežel bo tako treba še počakati.

* * *

Dvoboji so izšli iz renesančne Italije in do konca 16. stoletja hitro postali evropski fenomen (Carroll, 2016, 105–106, 117; Cavina, 2016, 579–580; Billacois, 1990, 15, 18–19).[4] V Cesarstvu so jih prevzeli iz Italije in predvsem Francije, posebej pogosti so bili med plemstvom in v vojski, tam zlasti med oficirskim kadrom, vendar še zdaleč niso bili omejeni zgolj na višje sloje (Carroll, 2017, 132–133; Ludwig, 2016, 85, 94, 168–169; Billacois, 1990, 24–26). Ludwigova v svoji študiji o dvobojih v Cesarstvu med udeleženci navaja še obrtnike oziroma obrtniške vajence, trgovce in celo kmete. Mandati ali edikti zoper dvoboje so formalno naslavljali vso družbo, z izjemo žensk (Ludwig, 2016, 47–49, 86–89). Dvoboji so se sicer v veliki večini odvijali znotraj enakih družbenih skupin, značilni »prestopniki« so bili iz vojaških (oficirskih) vrst (Ludwig, 2016, 86, 165–167, 193; Schwerhoff, 2013, 39). Dvoboji v habsburških dednih deželah in nasploh v Svetem rimskem cesarstvu so se razmahnili v obdobju tridesetletne vojne in po njej, ko so dosegli vrhunec. Od 42 odlokov zoper dvoboje jih je bilo tri četrtine sprejetih v drugi polovici 17. stoletja, od teh četrtina zgolj med letoma 1650 in 1655. Odloki so predpisovali globe in včasih zaporne kazni, za primere uboja pa tudi smrtno kazen (Billacois, 1990, 23; Ludwig, 2016, 69). Zgodnji patenti ali odloki zoper dvoboje na habsburških ozemljih se omenjajo v letih 1637, 1666 in 1682 (Ludwig, 2016, 77). Pred 19. stoletjem se na nemškem ozemlju še ni izoblikoval poseben kodeks dvobojevanja, ki bi urejal potek in formo dvobojev (Ludwig, 2016, 302, 330–332). Dotlej so dvoboje, ki jih za razliko od Francije in Italije niso striktno ločevali od

4 O razvoju dvoboja (za obrambo časti) podrobneje Cavina, 2016, 571–580.

pretepov in spopadov med nižjimi sloji prebivalstva, označevale besede *Raufen*, *Prügeln*, *Balgen*, *Kugeln wechseln* in od zadnje tretjine 18. stoletja vse pogosteje tudi *Zweikampf*, tj. dvoboj (Ludwig, 2016, 80–81, 120).[5] Beseda *Duel* se v nemškem tisku pojavi v začetku 17. stoletja, a je opisovala že obstoječo prakso. Izraz je bil od tridesetih let 17. stoletja splošno znan, čeravno je razvidno, da so z njim označevali najrazličnejše vrste medosebnih spopadov. Prvi primeri procesov proti dvobojevalcem v Cesarstvu so iz petdesetih let 17. stoletja. Prvi vrhunec so dvoboji dosegli v obdobju med letoma 1680 in 1730 ter nato močno upadli, nakar sta sledila ponovna oživitev in razcvet od devetdesetih let 18. stoletja, zlasti med oficirji ter med študenti (Ludwig, 2016, 102–103, 164–168, 200–205, 222; Carroll, 2017, 132–133; Schwerhoff, 2013, 41).

Poziv na dvoboj je bil možen le, če je bil moški polnoleten in sposoben nositi orožje, pri čemer starostna razlika dvobojevalcev ni bila pomembna. Dvoboj ni bil odvisen od plemiškega ranga, ampak od tega, ali sta nasprotnika smela nositi orožje in sta se imela za enak(ovredn)a (Billacois, 1990, 73, 75; Carroll, 2016, 122; Cavina, 2016, 584). Po letu 1660 so pri dvobojih v Franciji vse bolj opuščali formo, da bi dosegli bistvo: ubiti nasprotnika ali ga nadvladati (tj. ponižati oziroma mu vrniti za žalitev). Med pozivom na dvoboj in samim dvobojem je včasih preteklo zgolj nekaj minut. Za kraj dvobojevanja je zadostoval dovolj velik odprt prostor. Pri tem so tisti, ki so želeli vzbuditi pozornost, za mesto dvoboja izbrali bolj obljudene kraje, medtem ko so drugi, ki so se želeli ali izogniti državnemu pritisku ali verskim in civilnim oblastem, raje izbrali zapuščene kraje. Ker čas dvoboja ni bil več pomemben, je spopad prenehal biti javni spektakel. Orožje dvobojevanja je namesto težkega (dvoročnega) meča ali noža postal enoročni rapir, iz katerega se je razvila in do sredine 17. stoletja povsem uveljavila spada.[6] Z njo je bilo mogoče nasprotnika hitreje ubiti, pa tudi

5 V Italiji in Franciji so prav tako redko uporabljali izraz dvoboj; to je bilo nevarno, saj je bilo dvobojevanje prepovedano. V obeh državah so zato vpeljali nove načine branjenja časti, da bi z njimi odvrnili pozornost oblasti. V Franciji je plemstvo dvoboje označevalo kot *rencontres* (srečanje), medtem ko so v Italiji znani kot *questioni* ali *quistioni* (zadeve). Ker so se tedanji pravniki in teologi sčasoma zedinili, da je za obrambo življenja in premoženja legitimen tudi uboj, so se kmalu pojavili še zagovorniki branjenja ugleda (in s tem dvobojev), ki so priznavali, da za častnega moža odklonitev poziva na dvoboj ali beg enostavno ni bil dopusten (Carroll, 2016, 112).

6 Spada je bila lahek enoročni meč, ki se je v pozni renesansi razvil iz veliko težjega in daljšega rapirja. Predvidoma je izšla iz Francije, od koder se je hitro razširila po Evropi. Na višku priljubljenosti je bila med sredino 17. stoletja in poznim 18. stoletjem, ko jo je kot dodatek k noši in pripomoček za dvoboj oziroma obrambo nosil vsak plemič. Dimenzije rezila so bile med 60 in 85 cm, čeprav so nekatera merila tudi preko 90 cm. Zaradi ne preveč ostrega rezalnega roba in ostre konice je bila spada primerna za zabadanje, pri čemer je krajša različica omogočala hitrejši vbod (Small sword, 2021). Da je dvoboj med grofoma Herbersteinom in Rechbergom potekal s spadama, je razvidno z zaslišanja grofa Attemsa. Rezilo Herbersteinovega vbodnega meča je po njegovem opisu merilo tri razpone oziroma okoli 60 cm. O tem v opombah 44 in 45.

sicer poraženec ni bil nujno pohabljen in iznakažen.[7] O dvobojih s pištolami v 17. stoletju v Cesarstvu poroča Ludwigova. Sinonim za tedanje dvoboje je ne nazadnje bil tudi nemški izraz *Kugeln wechseln*, tj. izmenjava krogel (Ludwig, 2016, 80–81, 120, 324, 326). O pretežni uporabi strelnega orožja pri ubojih v dvobojih v Kölnu po letu 1700 mdr. piše Schwerhoff (2013, 40). Nasprotniki so včasih poskrbeli za to, da je dvoboj potekal z enako dolgim orožjem. Spet drugim za to ni bilo mar, da je le čimprej prišlo do dvoboja, da v očeh nasprotnika niso obveljali za strahopetca. Dvoboji tega časa so bili hitri in smrtonosni. Pomembna sprememba v formi dvobojevanja je bila nova vloga sekundantov, tj. prič oziroma pomočnikov. Praviloma sta sekundanta na kraj dvoboja spremljala vsakega od dvobojevalcev. Včasih je sekundantov bilo več, a vedno enako število na obeh straneh. Lahko so bili v sorodu z dvobojevalcem (čeprav pogosto niso bili) in so ga pred začetkom dvoboja opogumljali ali tolažili, po potrebi preverili vrsto in dolžino orožja, odsotnost dejanske zaščite in amuletov. Vendar sekundanti niso bili več pasivne priče dvoboja in so se pogosto borili med seboj. Še več, če je sekundant ubil svojega nasprotnika ali ga kako drugače izločil, se je lahko vključil v osrednji dvoboj in tako pomagal protagonistu, čigar sekundant je bil. V tem primeru dvoboj ni bil več izenačen, kar pa ni bilo pomembno, saj se je upoštevalo le stanje pred začetkom dvoboja.[8] Dvoboji so se kljub strogim prepovedim nadaljevali (tudi) zato,[9] ker se sankcije na splošno niso izvajale, če pa je »zločinec« že bil pripeljan pred sodišče, je skoraj vedno dobil vladarjevo pomilostitveno pismo. To je bila posledica dejstva, da vladar, podobno kot njegovi dvorjani, na dvobojevalce ni gledal samo popustljivo, ampak tudi s spoštovanjem in celo z občudovanjem (Billacois, 1990, 80; Carroll, 2006, 151, 214–215). V sodni praksi je bila smrtna kazen za dvobojevalce izreden dogodek, sodni postopek zoper njih – tudi v primeru uboja – izjema in odsotnost sodnega postopka pravilo (Ludwig, 2016, 281; Billacois, 1990, 109, 179).

---

7 Rapir oziroma spada nista dajala prednosti dvobojevalčevi fizični moči, ampak njegovemu obvladovanju hladnega orožja (Low, 2003, 6–7, 44). Zaradi večje smrtonosnosti se je zlasti v Franciji do sredine 17. stoletja uveljavilo tudi dvobojevanje s strelnim orožjem, navadno z dvema pištolama, saj je bilo možno s posamezno izstreliti zgolj en naboj. Nož kot orožje dvobojevanja je (tam) postopoma šel iz mode ob koncu prve tretjine 17. stoletja. Če je bilo globoke vbode v nezaščiteno telo izjemno težko pozdraviti, pa so bile rane s strelnim orožjem pogosto smrtonosne zaradi sepse. Dvobojev s pištolami okoli sredine 17. stoletja v Franciji ne gre enačiti s študentskimi in meščanskimi dvoboji 19. stoletja. V 17. stoletju so namreč v njih najprej sprožili pištole in nato potegnili še rapirje oziroma spade, dvoboji pa so potekali z do tremi možmi na vsaki strani (Carroll, 2006, 137–140, 158).

8 Billacois, 1990, 61–65; Carroll, 2006, 148–149, 151; Low, 2003, 18, 46–47; Peltonen, 2003, 96, 190, 203. Sekundanti so bili v francoski monarhiji vedno preganjani. V tamkajšnjih odlokih (iz let 1643, 1651) so bili obravnavani huje kot glavni dvobojevalci, grozila jim je smrtna kazen (Billacois, 1990, 104).

9 Konflikti so predstavljali sestavni del (tudi) plemiškega življenja, poroke in druga praznovanja pa so bila prizorišča za izkazovanje in izzive časti. Ker podobnih konfliktov ni bilo na knežjih dvorih ali raznih zasedanjih deželnih in državnih zborov, so nekateri kraji veljali za svete ali nedotakljive (Carroll, 2017, 133; Ludwig, 2016, 175–176).



Slika 1: Prizor dvoboja iz prve polovice 17. stoletja. Jacques Callot, 1617 (Wikimedia Commons).

V obdobju cesarja Leopolda I. (vl. 1658–1705) je samo v Gradcu med letoma 1674 in 1675 izpričano dvobojevanje za tri člane rodbine Herberstein. Konec julija 1674 se je hrastovški gospod Erazem Friderik grof Herberstein zaradi prizadete časti javno dvobojeval (*daß offentliche duell*) z Maksimilijanom baronom Stübichem. »Petelina« sta se hitro ohladila in se 2. avgusta pobotala v graškem lontovžu (*Landhaus*).[10] Ludwigova navaja, da je bil cesar preko svojih uradnikov dobro obveščen o tovrstnih konfliktih, kar se je odrazilo v celi vrsti priporov ali pridržanj dvobojevalcev. Dobra obveščenost o dvobojih vsaj od šestdesetih let 17. stoletja očitno ni predstavljala težav, saj so bili glede na komentar Gotliba grofa Windischgrätza iz leta 1664 dvoboji na Dunaju zadnji »krik mode«, s katerimi so skušali udeleženci pritegniti pozornost cesarskega dvora (!). Cilj priprtja dvobojevalcev tudi ni bil začetek sodnih procesov, pač pa v prvi vrsti poravnava med obema stranema (Ludwig, 2016, 176–177). Leta 1674 je potekal tudi dvoboj med Rihardom grofom Herbersteinom s stranske veje na Viltušu in Feliksom

10 Po poravnavi sta morala do nadaljnjih navodil znova v hišni pripor (StLA, LR 393, H. 1, 51r–v). Poravnavo ali pomiritev je sklenila simbolna gesta, do konca 15. stoletja je to bil »poljub miru«, v 17. stoletju mogoče še objem, vsekakor pa stisk rok, kot starodavna gesta sklepanja pogodb. Pogost je bil tudi skupen obisk maše (Oman, 2019, 695, 700–702; Carroll, 2016, 127–128; Darovec, 2017, 75–88).

grofom Thurn-Valsassino.[11] Ker je bilo dvobojevanje s cesarskimi odloki strogo prepovedano, sta 9. septembra tistega leta dvobojevalca morala v hišni pripor. Po mediatorjih Janezom Krištofom baronom Rottallom in Volfgangom Ferdinandom grofom Schrattenbachom sta dosegla poravnavo že naslednjega dne, 10. septembra (Grahornik, 2021, 175; Naschenweng, 2020a*,* 519). V začetku oktobra 1675 je prišlo do javnega dvoboja med 22-letnim Janezom Maksimilijanom grofom Gallerjem in vsaj 47-letnim vurberškim gospodom Jurijem Gunterjem grofom Herbersteinom. Po zagroženi kazni 2.000 dukatov je ograjno sodišče 9. oktobra obema ukazalo, da morata na sedežih svojih gospostev, tj. v dvorcu Ravno polje in na gradu Vurberk, v hišni pripor. Poravnava je bila med njima sklenjena še istega dne (StLA, LR 393, H. 2, 130r–v). Njun dvoboj je nedvomno sodil v sklop rodbinskih sporov med Herbersteini in Gallerji oziroma sovražnosti med sosednjima gospostvoma Vurberkom in Ravnim poljem, ki je vrh dosegel maja 1677, ko je bil grof Herberstein ubit v spopadu z ravnopoljskimi podložniki, ki so branili mejo gospostva (Oman & Darovec, 2018, 109–110; Grahornik, 2017, 31–32; Radovanovič & Vidmar, 2002, 22–29). Dvoboji so bili nasploh neredko povezani z obstoječimi medrodbinskimi ali medgosposkimi spori ter fajdami (Carroll, 2016, 111–114).

Za hrastovškega gospoda Karla Friderika grofa Herbersteina, sina omenjenega Erazma Friderika, je znano, da je 7. julija 1708 v Gradcu prisostvoval dvoboju, v katerem je življenje izgubil Leopold gospod Stubenberg. Ta se je okoli poldneva od stavbe notranjeavstrijskega tajnega sveta s kočijo odpeljal proti domu, ko je kočijaž v bližini jezuitskega kolegija skoraj povozil sprehajalca Antona Adama grofa Sauraua in njegovega botra (*patrino*) Karla Friderika grofa Herbersteina. Ker je grof Saurau menil, da je Stubenbergova vožnja ogrozila njegovo življenje, ga je pozval na dvoboj, v katerem je bil grof Herberstein njegov sekundant. Saurau in Stubenberg sta potegnila spadi in se dvakrat udarila brez zmagovalca. Pri tretjem poskusu pa je Saurau Stubenbergu zadal »grozljiv udarec«, ko ga je porezal od desne strani prsnega koša vse do levega kolka, tako da je kmalu zatem umrl. Opis dvoboja gre razumeti tako, da je Herberstein kot sekundant izbil Stubenbergov vbodni meč, nakar mu je lahko grof Saurau neovirano zadal usodni udarec (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 142–143).[12]

11 Rihard (1648–1677) je tedaj štel največ 26 let. Feliks bi lahko bil 40-letni Ferdinand Feliks (1634–1714) iz zbelovske veje. Ta je bil poročen kar štirikrat: prvič s Sofijo grofico Schrattenbach († 1670), drugič (20. aprila 1671) z Ano Marijo Elizabeto gospo Stubenberg (1634–1692), tretjič z ovdovelo Regino Lukrecijo grofico Rattmansdorff in četrtič s Terezijo grofico Gabelkoven (Zasebni arhiv Preinfalk).

12 [*Z*]*way gäng glikhlich wid*[*er*] *ihme Antoniu*[*m*] *vollbracht, im tritten* congressu *aber wegen v*[*on*] *Carl Friderich v*[*on*] *Herberstain alß Saurauischen* secund*anten außgeschlagenen dögen v*[*on*] *ihme Saurau einen graußamben stoß von der brust rechter seithen biß zur huffte linkher seithen durch und durch empfangen* […] *in Gott seelig endtschlaffen*. Leopold gospod Stubenberg, tedanji cesarski pravi tajni svetnik, komornik in štajerski dedni točaj, je bil dan pozneje pokopan v grobnico Stubenbergov pri graških jezuitih (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 142–143).

Dvoboj iz naslova pričujočega članka bomo zaradi zelo dobre dokumentiranosti predstavili podrobneje. Najprej pa se bomo pobliže seznanili z njunima protagonistoma.

PROTAGONISTA DVOBOJA LETA 1713

O Francu Albertu grofu Rechbergu je malo znanega. Rodbina Rechberg je prihajala iz Švabske in je pripadala staremu plemstvu.[13] Njen začetnik Ulrik je v virih izpričan leta 1179. Verjetno je bil on tisti, ki je dal kot vazal Staufov južno od mesta Schwäbisch Gmünd okoli leta 1200 pozidati matični rodbinski grad Hohenrechberg, ki se v virih sicer omenja šele od leta 1355. Sedež gospostva je bil skozi stoletja večkrat prezidan in povečan. Ob koncu tridesetletne vojne ga je leta 1648 zasedla francoska vojska, vendar ga ni porušila.[14] Rodbina je naziv državnih baronov dosegla leta 1577, natanko trideset let pozneje pa z Volfgangom Konradom grofovstvo in izboljšavo plemiškega grba. Rodbinski grb je bil tedaj združen z grboma izumrlih grofov Rothen-Löwen in švabske grofije Schwabegg. O Francu Albertu izvemo največ iz njegove plemiške diplome, s katero mu je cesar Leopold 28. januarja 1699 na Dunaju podelil oziroma potrdil grofovstvo ter mu v cesarstvu in habsburških dednih deželah dovolil uporabljati častni naziv »visoko- in blagorodni«. V diplomi je označen kot komornik bavarskega volilnega kneza, njegov vrhovni konjar in oskrbnik bavarskega mesta Erding, ki leži dobrih 30 km severovzhodno od Münchna (Frank, 1973, 148–149). Rodil se je 14. julija 1645 v Münchnu očetu Bernardu Beru in materi Mariji Jakobeji, roj. grofici Fugger-Nordendorf. Pred letom 1682 se je poročil s Katarino Barbaro baronico Spaur-Flavon (ok. 1650–1712) (Rechberg, 2021). Ker je Franc Albert grofovski naziv dosegel pozno, je v obravnavi uboja pogosto naslavljan kot baron. Dobrega pol stoletja po dvoboju so Rechbergi leta 1767 podedovali gospostvo Osterberg severno od Memmingena na jugu današnje Bavarske, ki je postalo baronija (*Freiherrschaft*) z novim imenom Rechberg in Rothenlöwen. Leta 1806 je bila baronija mediatizirana (izgubila je suverenost) in vključena v okvir kraljevine Württemberg. Največji vpliv so Rechbergi dosegli prav v 19.

13 Naschenweng v svojem delu o štajerskem deželanskem plemstvu obravnava tudi Rechberge, ki so izumrli v 16. stoletju. Pri tem je šlo za ministeriale s koroškega gradu Rebrca v Podjuni (nem. Rechberg im Jauntal), ki so v osnovnem grbu imeli vzpenjajočega se srnjaka. V istem sestavku avtor omeni švabske Rechberge, s katerimi ni bilo sorodstvenih vezi. Ti so imeli v (grofovskem) grbu upodobljena vzpenjajoča se rdeča leva (Naschenweng, 2020b, 757).

14 Grad so vnovič osvojili poldrugo stoletje pozneje, leta 1796 v času francoske revolucionarne vojne, a je ponovno ostal nedotaknjen. Opustošen je bil leta 1865, ko je vanj udarila strela ter povzročila požar, ki je grajski kompleks upepelil in spremenil v ruševino. V rokah Rechbergov je bil do leta 1986, ko ga je kupil zasebnik Hans Bader (Strobel, 2005, 162–165; Hohenrechberg, 2021; Burg Hohenrechberg, 2021).

stoletju,[15] s predstavnikoma Alojzom in Janezem Bernardom (Urbanitsch, 2003, 230–231; Ilwof, 1907, 233–234).

Če se pri Francu Albertu grofu Rechbergu pojavlja nekaj neznank, pa je ozadje ubitega Franca Jožefa grofa Herbersteina znano zelo natančno. Prihajal je iz hrastovške rodbinske veje. Bil je tretji, a edini preživeli sin Franca Karla grofa Herbersteina (po 1637–1708) iz njegovega prvega zakona z Marijo Terezijo Eleonoro baronico Würtzburg.[16] Rodil se je do 12. maja 1688 v Gradcu, ko je bil v graški cerkvi sv. Krvi krščen s polnim krstnim imenom Franc Jožef Jurij. Otroku je botroval Jurij gospod Stubenberg, tedanji štajerski deželni glavar, z ženo Marijo Ano.[17] Njegova starša sta se v štajerski prestolnici poročila slabih sedem let pred tem, 25. novembra 1681. Mati Marija Terezija je pripadala plemstvu, ki je izviralo iz Frankovske. Bila je hči Janeza Karla, cesarskega pravega tajnega svetnika in člana notranjeavstrijske dvorne pisarne, ter Marije Salome, roj. baronice Hainrichsberg (tudi Heinrichsberg). Njena starša sta bila ob njeni poroki že med pokojnimi, ženin pa je tedaj naveden kot prisednik štajerske deželne in dvorne pravde. Poročna zaobljuba Franca Karla in Marije Terezije je potekala v kapeli stavbe graške dvorne pisarne.[18] Sorojenci Franca Jožefa Jurija so bili še: Franc Jožef Kristijan (6. IX. 1682–30. V. 1684), Franc Karel ml. (po VI. 1683–19. II. 1684), Marija Ana Terezija Julija(na) (19. VI. 1684–27. VI. 1684), Marija Ana Terezija (26. XII. 1685–28. VII. 1700), Marija Barbara Katarina (22. XII. 1686–27. III. 1716), Ignac Franc Rudolf Venancij (13. X. 1689–20. XI. 1690), Marija

15 Alojz (1766–1849) je bil vpliven bavarski državnik, njegov sin Janez Bernard (1806–1899) pa je stopil v avstrijsko službo, kjer je med letoma 1859 in 1864 bil njen sedmi minister za zunanje zadeve. Kot drugi Alojzov sin je bil Janez Bernard namenjen služenju v bavarski upravi, za razliko od starejšega brata Alberta, ki je bil glavni dedič in dedni predstavnik zgornjega doma württemberškega parlamenta. Janez Bernard se je šolal na univerzah v Strasbourgu in Münchnu, vendar se je zaradi vloge sekundanta v nekem dvoboju (!) znašel v nemilosti bavarskega kralja Ludvika I. (vl. 1825–1848). Leta 1829 je nato stopil v avstrijsko diplomatsko službo. Zaradi njegovega koleričnega značaja naj bi pred letom 1859 skorajda prišlo do dvoboja med njim in tedanjim pruskim diplomatom Ottom von Bismarckom. Maja 1859, na predvečer vojne z Italijo, je postal avstrijski zunanji minister in avgusta istega leta tudi njen ministrski predsednik. Zadnjo funkcijo je februarja 1861 predal avstrijskemu nadvojvodi Rajnerju Ferdinandu, nečaku cesarja Franca I. (Urbanitsch, 2003, 230–231; Ilwof, 1907, 233–234; Chisholm, 1911, 952–953; Rechberg (Adelsgeschlecht), 2021; Rechberg und Rothenlöwen, 2021).

16 Franc Karel je prihajal iz starejše podveje prve stranske hrastovške veje, ki jo je začel njegov oče Janez Krištof († 1666; I. 1635 oo Marija Cecilija grofica Werdenberg; II. po 16. VI. 1636 oo Ana Marjeta Suzana baronica Zicul(l)ini). Podobno kot njegov sin Franc Jožef je bil Franc Karel tretji sin (iz drugega zakona), a sta starejša brata umrla v otroštvu. Njegov stari oče je bil Volfgang Sigmund (ok. 1582–po 1637; oo Ana Suzana baronica Teuffenbach), prvorojenec hrastovškega gospoda Janeza Friderika (1554–1615; I. 1579 oo vd. Uršula pl. Paradeiser, roj. grofica Thurn; II. 1598 oo vd. Rozina pl. Gera, roj. baronica Polheim). Družina Volfganga Sigmunda in Ane Suzane je med letoma 1617 in 1627 verjetno živela na gradu Vurberk, saj je bil Volfgang Sigmund tedaj zanesljivo njegov lastnik. Posedoval je še hišo na Ptuju (Grahornik, 2021, 240–246).

17 *Franciscus Josephus Georgius* (Graz-Hl. Blut, RMK 1682–1694, 568).

18 Graz-Hl. Blut, PMK 1675–1700, 319; StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 139r.

Regina (po 1690–17. VIII. 1699), Franc Ignac Janez Placid (5. X. 1693–27. III. 1694) in Marija Viktorija Konstanca Krescencija (14. IX. 1694–18. VIII. 1696).[19] Njihova mati je umrla v začetku decembra 1694 in bila 3. decembra pokopana v Marijini kapeli pri graških jezuitih.[20] Oče Franc Karel se je nato leta 1696 poročil z Marijo Regino grofico Gleispach, hčerko Janeza Sigmunda, cesarskega pravega tajnega svetnika in komornika ter predsednika notranjeavstrijske dvorne komore, in Barbare Elizabete, roj. baronice Breuner. Poročni dogovor je bil izdan 30. marca 1696.[21] V drugem zakonu ni bilo potomcev. Franc Karel je po letu 1681 opravljal vedno pomembnejše službe, tako za cesarja kot v javni upravi; ob smrti je izpričan kot cesarjev pravi tajni svetnik, komornik in notranjeavstrijski podnamestnik (*I. Ö. vice statthalter*). Umrl je 3. julija 1708 v Gradcu in bil dan pozneje, podobno kot njegova prva žena, pokopan v grobnico pri Marijini kapeli graških jezuitov (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 141).[22] Tam so bili pokopani tudi vsi njegovi potomci: Franc Karel ml., Franc Jožef Kristijan in Marija Ana Terezija leta 1684, Ignac Franc Rudolf leta 1690, Franc Ignac leta 1694, Marija Viktorija Konstanca leta 1696 in Marija Ana Terezija leta 1700. Od devetih jih je oče k zadnjemu počitku pospremil kar sedem. Po njegovi smrti sta ostala zgolj sin Franc Jožef, eden osrednjih protagonistov pričujočega prispevka, in hči Marija Barbara Katarina. Sin je tedaj štel 20 let, medtem ko je bila hčerka v 22. letu starosti. Očitno sta skupaj živela v hiši v Gradcu.[23] Kot njun skrbnik je leta 1709 izpričan dr. Janez Filip Möst, leto pozneje pa se v tej vlogi omenja Janez Filip grof Inzaghi (StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 141v–142r). Tako Franc Jožef kot Marija Barbara Katarina sta umrla neporočena. O šolanju Franca Jožefa nimamo veliko podatkov. Zdi se precej verjetno, da je leta 1699 na graškem jezuitskem kolegiju vpisani »Jožef« (*Josephus*) bil pravzaprav Franc Jožef, ki bi kot principist kolegija tedaj štel 11

19 Graz-Hl. Blut, RMK 1682–1694, 73, 239, 376, 671, 899; Graz-Hl. Blut, RMK 1694–1706, 19; Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1683–1691, 48, 73, 77, 338; Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1692–1705, 78, 140, 230; Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 503; PMPO, Rodovnik iz začetka 20. stoletja; Naschenweng, 2020a*,* 516; StLA, Beratung, Katalog Herberstein, Katalog H/3 – Rodbinske table, Tabla 12; Zasebni arhiv Herberstein. Hčerko Marijo Regino († 17. VIII. 1699) omenja le Naschenweng. Na rodovniku je ni, našel pa je nisem niti v mrliški matici.

20 Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1692–1705, 99. Zapuščina Marije Terezije Eleonore je bila popisana šele 10. julija 1701. Ocenjena je bila na več kot 39.430 gld (StLA, LR 400, H. 2, 206r–229r). Z dediščino je do leta 1708 kot skrbnica upravljala Marija Saloma baronica Würtzburg, morda njena sestra (StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 141r).

21 StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 142v; Naschenweng, 2020a*,* 516.

22 Wißgrill je tega Franca Karla enačil z istoimenskim sinom Franca Alberta iz neuberške veje, ki naj bi umrl leta 1710. Po njegovih podatkih se Franc Karel že leta 1681 omenja kot svetnik notranjeavstrijske vlade v Gradcu. Pozneje je postal komornik cesarja Leopolda I. in njegov pravi tajni svetnik, leta 1703 pa je bil imenovan še za notranjeavstrijskega deželnega podnamestnika. Njegova vdova je leta 1710 pisala c.-kr. dvorni komori v zvezi s pokojnino (penzijo) umrlega moža (Wißgrill, 1800, 286; prim. PMPO, Rodovnik iz začetka 20. stoletja).

23 Graška hiša je bila po inventarju njunega očeta Franca Karla iz leta 1708 ocenjena na 12.450 gld (StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 151r). Na gradu Hrastovec je v tem času živela tretja stranska hrastovška veja (Grahornik, 2021, 254–256, 260–269).

let (Andritsch, 1987, 156). Kot edini preživeli sin in dedič zajetnega družinskega premoženja se je po koncu šolanja bržčas udeležil kavalirskega potovanja po Evropi, vsaj po Italiji, saj je bilo poznavanje te države in njene kulture sestavni del plemiške omike.[24] Kavalirsko potovanje je bilo del izobraževalnega procesa, v katerem se je tedanji plemič izpopolnil v znanju jezikov, umetnostnem okusu, drži, plesnih korakih in igranju kakšnega glasbila, predvsem pa v pravilnem in elegantnem vihtenju enoročnega vbodnega meča. Za Franca Jožefa lahko domnevamo, da je prve ure mečevanja imel pri Janezu Krstniku Robinu (tudi Rubin), ki je med letoma 1701 in 1734 v Gradcu deloval kot stanovski plesni in mečevalni mojster, kot plesni mojster pa je bil angažiran tudi v graškem kolegiju (Kokole, 2015, 61; Low, 2003, 19).

DVOBOJ 2. JANUARJA 1713

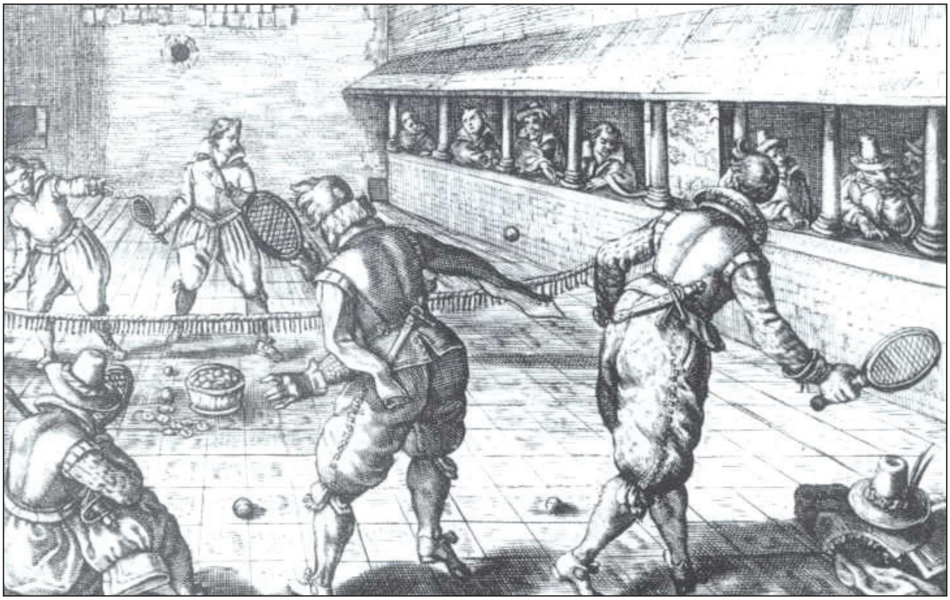
Dvoboj med grofoma Herbersteinom in Rechbergom lahko precej dobro rekonstruiramo na podlagi ohranjenega arhivskega gradiva. Tukaj podrobneje obravnavam zgolj njegov pomembnejši del. V sodnem procesu proti grofu Rechbergu je bilo zajeto veliko število pričevanj, kot nam dokazuje njihov popis (*specification*) z 29. julija 1713. Pričevanj je bilo kar devetnajst: 1) originalno pričevanje [Filipa] grofa Lodrona z 10. januarja; 2) izjava kočijaža Baltazarja Kolba (Kalba?) s 3. januarja; 3) izjava [Franca] Dizme grofa Attemsa s 4. januarja; 4) njegova izjava štajerskemu deželnemu glavarju s 7. januarja; 5) izjava [Janeza Jožefa] grofa Wurmbranda s 6. januarja; 7) njegova izjava štajerskemu deželnemu glavarju z 9. januarja; 8) poročilo Jožefe grofice Gleispach s 7. februarja; 9) nadaljnja izjava [Franca] Dizme grofa Attemsa s 14. februarja; 10) poročilo Marije Regine grofice Khuenburg z 22. februarja; 11) poročilo vdove [Marije Regine] grofice Herberstein z 22. februarja;[25] 12) kopija poročila Franca Antona pl. Hasberga (*Haznberg*) s 25. februarja; 13) poročilo B. Khilmayrja na visoki oblastvi s 23. marca; 14) poročilo Leopolda grofa Purgstalla s 23. marca; 15) pričevanje cesarskega kužnega zdravnika (*kay. pest. medicus*) doktorja [Martina Maksimilijana] Pruggmayrja (*Prükhmayr*) o zločinu (*de corpore delicti*) s 4. januarja; 16) pričevanje brivskega pomočnika [Petra Sigmunda] Wagnerja s 4. januarja;[26] 17) pričevanje doktorja Menradta (Menart, Meinrat?) z 19. februarja; 18) dokument notranjeavstrijske vlade glede grofa Hasberga z 18. marca in 19) kopija pričevanja dogodka (*copeilihe* facti species) grofa Rechberga (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 99r–v).

Kot izvemo iz poročila dr. Menradta, je do spora med komornikom bavarskega volilnega kneza Francem Albertom grofom Rechbergom in cesarskim komornikom

24 V njegovem zapuščinskem inventarju se v rubriki »listine« pod številko 119 omenja fascikel plačanih računov za stroške bivanja v Parmi (StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 143v).

25 Očitno je mišljena mačeha pokojnega Franca Jožefa, Marija Regina, roj. grofica Gleispach (Grahornik, 2021, 242, 244).

26 V popisu je naveden kot kirurg (*chyrurgi*), v lastnem poročilu pa kot brivski pomočnik (*barbier gesell*) (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 73v, 99v–100r).



Slika 2: »Jeu de paume«, predhodnik tenisa, na grafiki iz 17. stoletja (Wikimedia Commons).

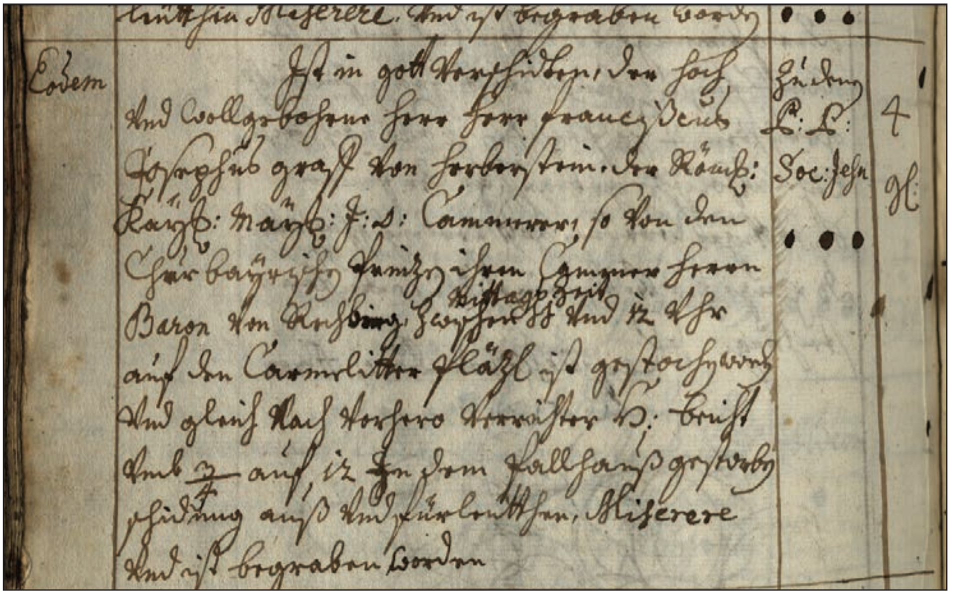
Francem Jožefom grofom Herbersteinom prišlo dan prej, 1. januarja zvečer v igralnem oziroma biljardnem salonu graške hiše za igre z žogo ali *Ballhaus*.[27] Grof Rechberg

27 *Ballhaus* ali *Ballspielhaus* je nemška oznaka za vrsto stavbe, kjer so igrali igro z žogo. Prve takšne stavbe so gradili od poznega 15. stoletja v Italiji in jih imenovali *Sala della Balla*. Na evropskih knežjih dvorih in univerzah so se razširile v 16. in zlasti 17. stoletju, še posebej s francosko igro *jeu de paume*, predhodnico tenisa. Kot danes so pri igri uporabljali lopar, mrežo, ki je delila prostor, in žogo, ki jo je moral nasprotnik pošiljati čez mrežo. V nemškem prostoru je bila prva tovrstna stavba zgrajena na pobudo Ferdinanda I. leta 1521 na dunajskem Hofburgu, ki so ji sledile leta 1567 v Innsbrucku, 1579 v Münchnu in, na primer, 1593 na univerzi v Tübingenu. Ko od 18. stoletja igra ni bila več v modi, so športne dvorane zaradi prostorne kockaste zasnove pogosto predelali v gledališča ali pa so stavbe porušili in na njihovem mestu zgradili nove. Najmlajši Ferdinandov sin, notranjeavstrijski nadvojvoda Karel (1540–1590), je tenisu podobno igro predstavil tudi štajerskemu glavnemu mestu. Prvotni stavbi za namene igranja predhodnika tenisa sta stali pri grajskih vratih ob Muri (*Murtor*) in na današnjem Tummelplatzu (v bližini graške Opere). Med letoma 1602 in 1605 je bila nato nasproti oslovskega hleva pod nadzorom igralnega ali žogarskega mojstra (*Ballmeister*) Ferranteja Signorinija zgrajena nova stavba. Trinadstropna dvokapnica s kolčno streho in z različnimi majhnimi okni je stala severno od današnjega Freiheitsplatza, v neposredni bližini obsežnega spodnjega grajskega kompleksa, na današnji Ballhausgasse 1–3, s čimer je zavzemala polovico ulice, ki ji je dala ime. Okoli leta 1700 je predhodnik tenisa prišel iz mode, zato so v prostoru mdr. uredili biljardno sobo (Engele, 2021). Graški *Ballhaus* je dokončno zamrl po letu 1750, ko je stari igralni mojster umrl in ni bilo mogoče najti njegovega naslednika. Od 19. stoletja so z izrazom *Ballhaus* označevali plesne dvorane, saj so svečane plesne prireditve pogosto prirejali v prostornih sobanah nekdanjih hiš za igre z žogo. Izraz »ples« (nem. Ball; ita. il ballo; fr. le bal) izhaja prav iz *Ballhaus*, kjer so se odvijali plesi (prav tam; Gillmeister, 2008a, 205–230; Gillmeister, 2008b, 352–365; Vaupel, 2014, 66–73; Ballhaus, 2021).

je tedaj prišel v predsobo v trenutku, ko se je grof Herberstein iz nje namenil v glavno sobo. Ob srečanju je grof Rechberg grofu Herbersteinu namenil poklon ali kompliment, ta pa se je pri tem obračal in mu kazal hrbet, ne da bi se mu zahvalil, odgovoril ali poklon vrnil. Na vprašanje, zakaj mu ne vrne poklona, mu je Herberstein odgovoril, da tega ni dolžan storiti. Rechberg je menil, da vljudnost zahteva vljudnost, Herberstein pa, da ga v to ne more nihče prisiliti. Grofa Rechberga je odgovor vznejevoljil.[28] V biljardnem salonu je bil tedaj prisoten tudi dr. Menradt, ki je grofu Rechbergu razložil, da Herberstein trpi za hipohondrijo, za katero ga je preteklo poletje zdravil dr. Wenck. Zatem se grof Rechberg ni samo umiril, ampak je v smehu dejal, da če bi to vedel, bi grofa Herbersteina pustil na miru, in da naj dr. Menradt pri njem zanj zastavi dobro besedo.[29] Preko noči se je grof Rechberg morda vseeno odločil, da svojega ponosa ne more kar tako požreti. Naslednji dan se je namreč vrnil v omenjeno hišo na igro biljarda (*zum piliart*) z dvema znancema oziroma »pomočnikoma« (*gehilfte*). V stavbi je ponovno bil tudi grof Herberstein. Kmalu zatem sta se grofa sporekla in zapustila stavbo. Ker je bil prostor današnjega Freiheitsplatza tedaj močno pozidan, sta se odpravila na okrog 100 m oddaljeni Karmeliterplatz. Trg je ime dobil po samostanu karmeličanov, v katerem so danes prostori Štajerskega deželnega arhiva. Na trgu sta grofa po 11. uri »zavihala rokave«, da bi se udarila ali spopadla (*zu schlagen*). Grof Herberstein se je morda zanašal na mladost, dobro poznavanje domačega terena, predvsem pa si je želel povrniti prizadeto čast zaradi Rechbergovega »zbadanja«. Okoliščine, ki so govorile v prid Herbersteina, mu niso pomagale, Rechberg ga je v dvoboju s spado močno zabodel v levo stran trupa. Krvavečega so nato prinesli v *Ballhaus*, kjer je po prejetem zakramentu spovedi oziroma pokore in sprave do 11.45 umrl. Iz obdukcijskega poročila je razvidno, da ga je Rechberg zabodel v predel prsi, med četrtim in petim rebrom, ter mu predrl pljuča. Do smrti je prišlo zaradi zadušitve (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 9r, 25r, 59r, 63r–64r, 69r–71v, 75r). Grof Herberstein je bil pokopan pri graških jezuitih, verjetno v družinsko grobnico pri Marijini kapeli. Sam dogodek, ki je privedel do njegove smrti, je zabeležen tudi v mrliški matični knjigi (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 346).

28 Plemstvo je bilo posebej občutljivo na izgovorjeno besedo in geste, ki so ponazarjale njihov status in položaj, na primer priklon, poljub ali odkritje klobuka. Nekateri avtorji navajajo, da je bil za francosko plemstvo 17. stoletja medsebojni pozdrav obvezen; tiste, ki tega niso upoštevali, so jemali kot sovražnike brez dostojnosti. Najmanjša napačna gesta, kot je nepričakovan nasmeh, je lahko obveljala za provokacijo (Carroll 2006, 54–55; Cavina, 2016, 584–585). O tem, da so do dvobojev pripeljale povsem nenamerne žalitve, kot na primer morebiten strmeč ali drzen pogled, neposrečena (večpomenska) beseda ali nepremišljeno dejanje (gesta), piše tudi Ludwigova (Ludwig, 2016, 274).

29 Dr. Menradt se je nato poslovil in zapustil stavbo, tako da ni vedel, ali se je tistega večera med grofoma Rechbergom in Herbersteinom še kaj dogajalo. Naslednjega dne, ko se je odvil usodni dvoboj, v stavbi ni bil prisoten. Njegovo pričevanje je bilo z 19. februarja 1713 (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 69r). V omenjeni stavbi je dokumentiranih kar nekaj sporov. Leta 1686 je vlada na primer prepovedala igranje ob nedeljah in praznikih, češ da se ob igrah pogosto pozablja na lepe manire. Znan je primer Janeza Jožefa grofa Steinbeißa, ki naj bi napadel oziroma zabodel igralnega mojstra Dürrenbergerja, ker mu ta ni izplačal dolga, medtem ko naj bi Karel grof Lodron leta 1717 tamkajšnjemu kletarju zadal več udarcev (Engele, 2021).



Slika 3: Mrliški vpis za Franca Jožefa grofa Herbersteina z 2. januarja 1713 (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 346).[30]

Franc Jožef se ob smrti omenja kot notranjeavstrijski cesarski komornik ter prisednik deželne in dvorne pravde. Inventar njegove zapuščine sta komisarja Jurij Viljem baron Pranckh in Jožef grof Lodron popisala 7. januarja, uradu štajerskega deželnega glavarja pa sta ga predala 30. januarja. Pokojnikovo zapuščino sta ocenila na 50.550 gld 43 kr. Od tega sta nepremičnine ovrednotila na 21.941

30 Transkripcija mrliškega vpisa: *Eodem* (2. januar 1713, op. a.) *ist in Gott verschidten, der hoch und wollgebohrne herr herr Francißcus Josephus graff von Herberstein, der röm. kay. may. I. O. cammerer, so von den churbayrischen prinzen ihren cammer herrn baron* [sic!] *von Rechberg, mittagszeit zwischen 11 und 12 uhr auf den Carmelitter pläzl ist gestochen worden und gleich nach vorhero verrichter h*[*eiligen*] *beicht umb ¾ auf 12 in dem pallhauß gestorben, schidung auß und fürleütthen, miserere und ist begraben worden zu denen p. p. soc*[*ietas*] *Jesu* (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 346).

gld, medtem ko je bilo zadolžnic v skupnem znesku 24.355 gld.[31] Iz popisanih listin je mogoče razbrati, da je bil Franc Jožef cesarski komornik vsaj od leta 1703. Komisarja sta med njegovo zapuščino na primer našla tri komorne ključe (*3 khay*[*serliche*] *khammer schlißl*).[32]

Dvobojevanje je bilo po cesarskih odlokih nezakonito in strogo prepovedano, za uboj v dvoboju pa je bila po odloku s 14. aprila 1703 zagrožena smrtna kazen (*bey leib, und lebens straff*). Obtoženi grof Rechberg je zato padel »v največjo cesarjevo nemilost« (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 9r). Do njega nista bili prizanesljivi niti Marija Barbara grofica Herberstein, edina živeča sestra umorjenega, niti vdova Marija Regina, njegova mačeha. Zadnja je v imenu obeh zapisala, da je bila Marija Barbara na »najljubšega brata izjemno navezana«. Čeprav je bila vdova Marija Regina ubitemu »le mačeha« (*zwar nur alß stiefmutter*), ga je imela za lastnega otroka, zato je v pismu pozivala k ustreznemu sankcioniranju grofa Rechberga (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 63r–64v).

Ozadje dogodkov, ki so pripeljali do dvoboja, in razplet po grofovem uboju je možno izluščiti iz posameznih pričevanj. Ker so ta različnih datumov, jih bomo v nadaljevanju predstavili glede na sosledja dogodkov.

Kot priča uboja grofa Herbersteina je 9. januarja poročal Janez Jožef grof Wurmbrand, ki je s svojim pričevanjem seznanil tedanjega štajerskega deželnega glavarja. Grof Wurmbrand je v poročilu uvodoma zapisal, da o dvoboju med grofoma Herbersteinom in Rechbergom ne ve nič več kot to, kar sta mu povedala Filip grof Lodron in Franc Dizma grof Attems. Prvega januarja 1713 še ni vedel, da sta se Herberstein in Rechberg usodno sporekla (*daß sye sich mit worten verhänglich gemacht haben*), saj je na željo bavarskega princa[33] novo leto dočakal pri njem. Prvi dan novega leta ga je grof Gleispach pozval k igri

31 Da bo mogoč popoln izračun in boljša predstava o materialni kulturi pokojnika, navedimo še ocenjene vrednosti ostalih rubrik. Gotovine je bilo za 178 gld, srebrnega posodja za 756 gld 30 kr. Knjižnica, ki jo je Franc Jožef podedoval po očetu, je bila ocenjena na 552 gld 20 kr. Oblačila je komisija ocenila na 392 gld, livreje na 15 gld, tapete, ogledala in sedeže na 268 gld, namizno perilo na 157 gld ter posteljnino in preproge na 64 gld 45 kr. Slike ter posoda iz majolike, porcelana in medenine so skupaj znesle 328 gld. Da Franc Jožef ni bil poseben navdušenec nad orožjem, govori podatek, da je bilo to ocenjeno na okroglih 100 gld, pri čemer je bilo v okviru iste rubrike popisanih še šest lasulj (*parockhen*) v vrednosti 20 gld. Konji in konjska oprava v hlevu so bili ocenjeni na 492 gld, v kleti skladiščeno vino pa na 480 gld. K hiši je poleg hleva in kleti spadal tudi vrt zunaj mestnega obzidja; tamkajšnji leseni predmeti so bili ocenjeni na 102 gld 30 kr, leseni predmeti »v mestu« pa na 108 gld 15 kr. Mizarsko orodje je veljalo okroglih 30 gld, premičnina iz kositra 217 gld 23 kr, tista iz medenine in bakra pa 13 gld (StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 151r–170v). O pokojnikovih lahkih vbodnih mečih ali spadah prim. opombo 45.

32 StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 123r, 124r, 127v, 172r.

33 Očitno je mišljen Maksimilijan II. Emanuel Wittelsbaški (1662–1726), ki je bil od leta 1679 bavarski volilni knez. V tej funkciji ga je po smrti zamenjal sin Karel Albert (1697–1745), ki je leta 1742 postal svetorimski cesar Karel VII. (Hartmann, 2008, 163–165). Franc Albert grof Rechberg je kot komornik bavarskega volilnega kneza in njegov vrhovni konjar kneza spremljal (vsaj na silvestrovanje) v Gradec.

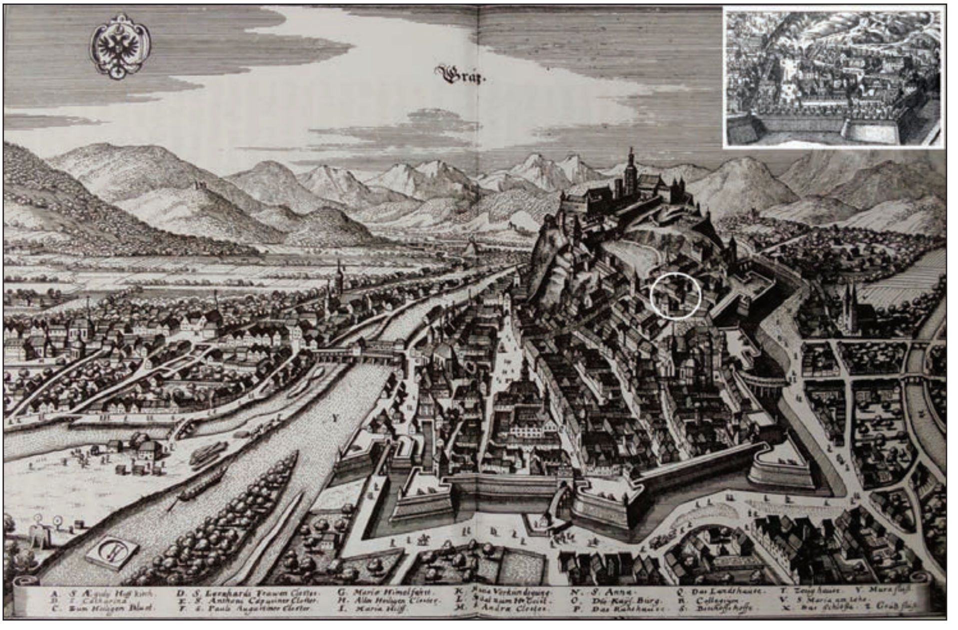
in šele tedaj je prišlo do usodnega dogodka, ki pa mu ni prisostvoval. Drugega januarja je okoli 11. ure prišel v graški *Ballhaus*, kjer so se že družili grof Rechberg, Filip grof Lodron[34] in mladi grof Fugger (*Fuckher*).[35] Ob srečanju jih je pozdravil, nato pa odložil obleko in začel igrati z markizom. Ker so omenjeni pristopili h grofu Wurmbrandu, je vprašal grofa Rechberga, ali bi želel igrati, a mu je ta odgovoril, da ne igra in da je slab igralec. Nato je enako vprašal mladega grofa Fuggerja, ki ga je prav tako zavrnil. Grof Lodron je z njim sicer želel igrati, a ga je Wurmbrand imel za prezahtevnega igralca. Omenjena trojica je zato zapustila prostor; grof Wurmbrand je menil, da so zapustili stavbo. Zdi se, da je trojica na čelu z grofom Rechbergom v *Ballhaus*u čakala na grofa Herbersteina. Čez kakšne četrt ure se je grof Lodron vrnil in grofu Wurmbrandu povedal, da se v biljardni sobi pripravlja dvoboj. Grofa je zanimalo, zakaj, a mu Lodron ni znal pojasniti. Wurmbrand je zato pomislil, da je povod zanj dala kakšna igra (biljarda). Lodronu je dejal, naj pogleda, za kaj gre, in uredi zadevo, saj menda ve, da je to (dvobojevanje, op. a.) prepovedano. Po teh besedah je grof Lodron zapustil prostor, grof Wurmbrand pa je nadaljeval z igro.[36] Okoli četrt ure pozneje je slišal razgrajanje (*ein tumult*). V sobo je vstopil grof Attems in Wurmbrandu dejal, ali mu je znano, da je Franc Jožef grof Herberstein zapustil prostore, da bi se spopadel z grofom Rechbergom. Wurmbrand ga je vprašal »Kje?«, nakar je pobral svoja oblačila in meč ter se napotil ven, da bi videl, kaj je za storiti. Medtem so smrtno ranjenega grofa Herbersteina prinesli v *Ballhaus*. Wurmbrand je ponudil pomoč in ga pomagal odnesti v sobo. Prostore *Ballhaus*a je grof Wurmbrand zapustil po prihodu t. i. mestnega čuvaja (*der berihtwachter*) (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 83r–86r).

---

34 S poznejšim sekundantom grofa Rechberga je verjetno mišljen Filip Anton grof Lodron, najstarejši preživeli sin Nikolaja ml. in Marije Cecilije, roj. baronice Gabelkoven. Rodil se je med letoma 1673 in 1683, najverjetneje do leta 1675. Do leta 1703 se je poročil z Marijo Valburgo pl. Judden, s katero sta imela šest otrok. Grof Lodron je bil kavalir posebne vrste: prav leta 1713, do 3. novembra, mu je Marija Suzana Fliess (*Vließ*) rodila nezakonskega sina, ki je bil krščen kot Ferdinand Karel. Filip Anton je umrl do začetka maja 1718 in bil 5. maja pokopan v veliko kripto graške cerkve sv. Krvi (Graz-Hl. Blut, RMK 1707–1720, 391; Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 586; Naschenweng, 2020b, 647–648).

35 Fuggerji so, podobno kot Rechbergi, prihajali s Švabske. Priimek se je prvotno zapisoval kot Fucker (Jansen, 2013, 8; Rieckenberg, 1961, 707–708). Mladi grof Fugger bi tako bil del spremstva bavarskega kneza v Gradec oziroma habsburške dedne dežele. To posredno dokazuje skupen prihod grofov Rechberga, Fuggerja in Lodrona 2. januarja 1713 v prostore *Ballhaus*, pri čemer izvemo iz pričevanja Franca Dizme grofa Attemsa s 14. februarja detajl, da je bil ob njihovem prihodu bolj pozoren na prva dva, tj. tujca, ne pa tudi na domačina Lodrona (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 76r, 78r). Po spletnem viru je bila Rechbergova mati Marija Jakobeja grofica Fugger iz mlajše linije Nordendorf (Rechberg, 2021).

36 [*I*]*ch glaubte sye wären schon forth, ybero ein virtl stundt. Kambe der herr graff Philipp von Lodron, sagte mir, sye hetten auff den billiar*[*d*] *händl, fragte ihme warumben, gabe er mir zur antworth, er wuste es nicht. Ich glaubet es wäre etwan wegen eines spiele betröffendt. Anthwortete ich ihm, sehet die sachen zuvermitlen, was es etwan ist, sye wärden ja wissen, d*[*a*]*ß alhier verbotten ist. Nachdem er widerumb fort gienge, ich aber in meinen spile verharrete* (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 85r).



Slika 4: Merianova grafika Gradca iz sredine 17. stoletja (Merian, 1649, sl. 200) in Trostov detajl Pavlovega predmestja (Paulusvorstadt) s Karmeliterplatzom (Wikimedia Commons).

Štirinajstega februarja je svoje videnje dogodkov z 2. januarja podrobneje opisal Dizma grof Attems. V virih je gotovo mišljen Franc Dizma (1688–1750), sin Ignaca Marije,[38] cesarski komornik in svetnik notranjeavstrijske dvorne komore. Na vprašalnik s trinajstimi sklopi vprašanj je bil dolžan odgovoriti po odloku notranjeavstrijske vlade in dvorne komore.[39] Njegovo pričevanje je bilo odločilnega pomena. Od vseh vpletenih prič je edini pravilno zapisal ime pokojnega grofa Herbersteina, navedel pa je tudi ime grofa Rechberga (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 75r). Morda je bil njegov dokaj pozen odgovor posledica poročnih priprav: zgolj ducat dni pozneje, 26. februarja, se je v Gradcu poročil z

37 Karmeliterplatz, ki je nastal po letu 1578, je po načrtih nadvojvode Karla II. predstavljal središče širitve mesta v smeri severovzhoda. Do ustanovitve samostana karmeličanov leta 1629 s strani cesarja Ferdinanda II. se je imenoval Platz gegen die Burg (»Trg proti mestnemu gradu«). Vzhodno od Karmeliterplatza, kjer je na slikah razvidno obzidje z grajskim jarkom, se danes bohoti mestni park (Stadtpark Graz) (Kubinzky & Wentner, 1996, 213–214; Ebner, 1967, 82).

38 Sedmega avgusta 1688 je bil v graški cerkvi sv. Krvi krščen kot Franc Herman Dizma (Graz-Hl. Blut, RMK 1682–1694, 581).

39 Štirinajstega februarja je navedel, da odgovarja na vprašalnik s 7. januarja (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 75r–v). Očitno se je zmotil v mesecu, saj se zdi nelogično, da bi se vprašalnik skliceval na njegove odgovore s poznejših zaslišanj (10., 15. in 16. januarja). Prim. z opombo 41.

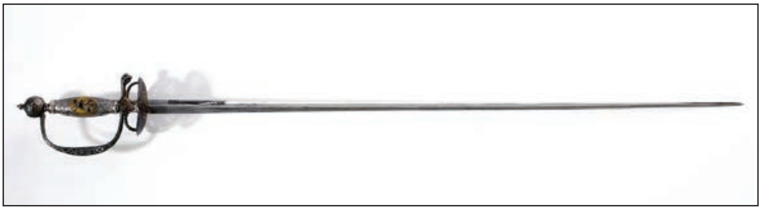
Marijo Zofijo Frančiško grofico Herberstein s Pusterwalda (Grahornik, 2021, 290–291).[40]

Iz vprašanj za grofa Attemsa in njegovih odgovorov izvemo naslednje. Grof Attems je v prvem zaslišanju navedel,[41] da je grof Herberstein ob vstopu grofov Rechberga, Fuggerja in Lodrona v prostore *Ballhaus*a z mize vzel enega od odloženih vbodnih mečev (spad), rekoč, da se želi z Attemsom soočiti oziroma »udariti« (*er möchte mich affrontieren, oder auff mich schlagen*).[42] Herberstein je prihod Rechberga, sploh pa z dvema pajdašema, verjetno imel za provokacijo. Na vprašanje, čigava je bila spada, ki jo je z mize vzel grof Herberstein, grof Attems ni poznal odgovora. Ob prihodu novih gostov je bil bolj kot nanj pozoren na grofa Rechberga in Fuggerja. Tudi če bi videl, da gre za njegov meč, ga v tistem trenutku ne bi mogel zahtevati nazaj, saj sta v prostor vstopila tuja gosta (grofa). Zatem je grof Herberstein odšel mimo biljardne mize. Ko je grof Attems skušal vzeti svoj klobuk in meč, je opazil, da je grof Herberstein namesto svojega meča vzel njegovega, pri čemer je vztrajal, na očitno jasne insinuacije komisije, da mu meča vsekakor ni posodil. Je pa opazil, da sta bila meča zelo podobna. Zatem je grofu Herbersteinu sledil iz stavbe, vendar ga pri izhodu z zamenjavo mečev ni želel soočiti (*in hinaußgehen wolte ich selben nicht repetieren*), saj sta bila domenjena, da ga bo Herberstein pozneje odpeljal domov. Tako je menil, da bo meč dobil nazaj ob vožnji domov. Zato o tem v svoji prvi izjavi ni poročal in ne razmišljal. Grof Attems je potem meč grofa Herbersteina nosil pri izhodu iz

40 Marija Zofija Frančiška (1694–1715) je bila osma potomka in peta hči iz zakona Maksimilijana Sigmunda grofa Herbersteina s Pusterwalda in Kristine Krescencije grofice Herberstein z Vurberka (Grahornik, 2021, 290–291). Žena Franca Dizme in Franc Jožef grof Herberstein sta bila zelo oddaljena sorodnika, njun skupni prednik je bil Jurij IV. (1469–1528). V kratkem zakonu Franca Dizme in Marije Zofije Frančiške sta se rodila sinova Ignac Marija Maksimilijan Dizma Jožef Leander (* 27. II. 1714) in Karel Leopold Ferdinand Pipin (* 21. II. 1715) (Graz-Hl. Blut, RMK 1707–1720, 410, 465). Franc Dizma grof Attems se je 2. februarja 1717 v Gradcu poročil z Marijo Julijano grofico Wildenstein (Graz-Hl. Blut, PMK 1715–1726, 122–123). Pozneje je bil cesarski pravi tajni svetnik in komornik ter predsednik revizorija, na slovenskih tleh pa je poznan predvsem kot lastnik gradu Slovenska Bistrica. Umrl je 10. maja 1750 v Gradcu in bil pokopan pri graških frančiškanih (Naschenweng, 2020a*,* 13, 513; Preinfalk, 2020; Zasebni arhiv Herberstein).

41 Njegovo prvo zaslišanje je bilo »10. v mesecu« (*in seiner ersten außag* ad interrogatorium *10mum*). Iz odgovorov grofa Attemsa je razvidno, da je bil zaslišan 10., 15. in 16. januarja, če datumov ni pomešal. Po zaslišanju je prejel še vprašalnik (*interrogatoria*) s trinajstimi vprašanji, na katera je odgovoril do 14. februarja (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 76r, 81v).

42 Iz Attemsovega pričevanja ni jasno, zakaj bi se grof Herberstein želel spopasti z njim. Morda je mladi grof menil, da se je Attems zarotil proti njemu ali da je izdal njuno prijateljstvo. O slednjem lahko sklepamo iz Attemsovega pričevanja: s Herbersteinom sta se družila malo pred tem, ko je bil dogovorjen dvoboj z Rechbergom; z grofom sta bila istega dne dogovorjena za skupno vožnjo domov, Herberstein pa ga je tudi (vztrajno) želel za sekundanta. Z grofom sta bila istega letnika: Attems je bil od Herbersteina zgolj slabe tri mesece mlajši, čeravno graškega kolegija verjetno nista obiskovala skupaj; Franc Dizma je (namreč) leta 1706 izpričan kot učenec logike, tj. prvega letnika višjega študija (Andritsch, 1987, 187). Attemsovo pričevanje sicer daje občutek, da je o dvoboju vedel precej več, kot je o njem poročal oziroma zapisal.



Slika 5: Spada ali lahki vbodni meč, tip hladnega orožja, s katerim sta se 2. januarja 1713 na graškem Karmeliterplatzu dvobojevala grofa Herberstein in Rechberg (Wikimedia Commons).

stavbe v smeri t. i. majhnih vrat in nazaj.[43] Zaradi spleta okoliščin se je tistega dne pozneje domov vrnil z grofom Wurmbrandom. Pri sebi je imel svoj meč, ki ga je od grofa Herbersteina dobil potem, ko so ga smrtno ranjenega skupaj z mečem prinesli v *Ballhaus*. Nožnico njegovega meča je v stavbo prinesel nek njemu neznani fant, za katerega so mu povedali, da je lakaj grofice Galler. Iz pričevanja grofa Attemsa poznamo tudi opis mečev. Njegov je bil navaden sprehajalni, ki ga je kot dodatek k noši običajno nosil vsak dan. Dolg je bil »tri razpone,[44] širok za mali prst oziroma mezinec« in je imel srebrn ščitnik po pariški modi. Meč pokojnega grofa je bil enako dolg, spodaj nekaj daljši in z jeklenim ščitnikom (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 79r).[45]

Pred dvobojem je grof Attems *Ballhaus* zapustil s štirimi drugimi grofi,[46] nakar se je vrnil v stavbo in govoril z grofom Wurmbrandom. V tej zvezi je

43 Z »majhnimi vrati« so bržčas mišljena notranja Pavlova vrata. V letih 1846/47 so namreč poleg te stavbe porušili še bližnja notranja Pavlova vrata, ob teh pa tudi okoliške hiše. Prostrani prostor je postal Franzensplatz, današnji Freiheitsplatz (Engele, 2011, 34–35).

44 Razpon (*Spanne*) je staro merilo na podlagi roke. Navaden razpon je segal od konice iztegnjenega palca do konice iztegnjenega mezinca in je ustrezal približni velikosti 20 cm. Majhen razpon je bil za okoli tretjino manjši in je segal od konice iztegnjenega palca do zapestja (Brockhaus, 1856, 261; Spanne, 2021).

45 *Mein degen ist ein ordinari spazier degen, den ich alle tag vor ordinari trage, 3 span lang, eines kleinen finger braith, mit einen silbernen Pariser gefaiß* […] *des gr*[*afen*] *v*[*on*] *Herberstein seiner ist eben in diser gresse, sovill mir reht ist, und ehunter lenger als meiner ist, mit einen stählnen gefaiß* (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 79r). V zapuščinskem inventarju Franca Jožefa grofa Herbersteina najdemo pet spad ali vbodnih mečev. Tista, s katero se je dvobojeval, je morala biti zajeta med *drey stachelne, und mäßinge dögen*, ki so bile skupaj ocenjene na 30 gld. Očitno je šlo za spade, ki so imele jeklen oziroma medeninast ročajni del. Ker je bila spada neke vrste moški nakit in je bil njen ročajni del med nošenjem viden, je šlo za pomemben detajl. Pri nekaterih izvedbah je bil ročajni del v celoti kovinski, pri drugih pa le branik, glavič in prečka za zaščito dlani, medtem ko so ročajno oblogo izdelali iz lesa in ovili z usnjem, ribjo kožo ali žico. Med popisanim hladnim orožjem je bila še spada s posrebrenim ročajnim delom (*ein silber eingelegter dögen*), ocenjena na 3 gld. Neki drugi vbodni meč je bil v (dvobojevalnem?) kompletu z dvema pištolama (*1 stab, darinen 2 terzerollen und 1 dögen*), kar je komisija tedaj ocenila na 6 gld (StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 156v–157r).

46 Mišljeni so grofje Herberstein, Rechberg, Lodron in Fugger.

komisijo zanimalo, o čem sta govorila. Attems je odgovoril, da sta z Wurmbrandom govorila o tem, da so grofje stopili ven, da bi se spopadli (*sie seint hinauß gangen, sie wollen rauffen*). Komisijo je še posebej zanimal Filip grof Lodron, ki je izpričan kot sekundant grofa Rechberga. Na vprašanja o njem je Attems zapisal, da je stopil le do vhoda stavbe (*dan ich vor d*[*a*]*ß pallhauß nicht hinaus komben bin*), zato da ne ve, kako daleč in kam se je ta odpravil. Do njega je Lodron pristopil, ko je stal pri vhodnih vratih in je nameraval vstopiti. Po formalnostih mu je dejal, naj stopi z njim ven – kakšen razlog je navedel, se Attems ni spomnil –, nato mu je Attems odgovoril, da se v zadevo ne bo vmešal, saj se ga ne tiče. Zatem ga je Lodron prosil, ali bi stopil za drugega sekundanta, ker o zadevi nič ne ve in bi bil pri dvoboju nepristranski, ob tem pa je to vlogo občasno že opravil.[47] Attems v prošnjo ni privolil in je po pogovoru vstopil v *Ballhaus*. Ker ni prisostvoval dvoboju, tudi ni znal povedati, kje je stal grof Lodron, ko sta se oba kavalirja »udarila« (*wie sich beede cavalier geschlagen haben*), in če je Lodron pri tem izvlekel svoj meč (*seinen degen auch entblest*) ter kako je bil ta videti. Ko so v *Ballhaus* prinesli smrtno ranjenega grofa Herbersteina, je bil Attems zraven, ob izhodu iz stavbe pa grofov Lodrona in Rechberga ni videl. Posebej poveden je Attemsov odgovor na zadnje vprašanje komisije. Izvemo, da je grof Herberstein k njemu poslal svojega lakaja. Formalnosti so bile takšne, da mu je lakaj izročil pisemsko prošnjo (*in der post außgerichtet*) svojega gospodarja, naj pride ven. Attems je lakaju odgovoril, naj gospodarju sporoči, da mu je že prej dejal, da ne bo sodeloval pri dvoboju in da ne bo njegov sekundant. Po teh besedah se je lakaj vrnil h gospodarju (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 76r–77v). Zdi se, da je na koncu svojega pričevanja grof Attems kar malce naveličano dodal, da je to vse, kar zna povedati, tudi če bi bil o tem še stokrat izpraševan.[48]

Kdo je stopil za sekundanta grofa Herbersteina, je težko reči. Dvoboj je vedno predstavljal boj dveh ali več posameznikov z namenom dokazati, kdo ima v sporu prav, oziroma hrabrost, pogum, predvsem pa čast vsakega borca (Carroll, 2016, 123; Billacois, 1990, 5).[49] Poziv na dvoboj je lahko bil dan ustno, pred pričami, ali pisno (Billacois, 1990, 9). Do dvoboja je prišlo po skupni odločitvi protagonistov, pri čemer sta morali obe strani spoštovati nekatera formalna pravila, ki so vsaj v očeh dvobojevalcev dobila težo sodnega postopka. Tako je bila pri dvoboju

47 [*Z*]*u mir ist er aber gekhomben hernach bey der pallhauß thier, gleich wie ich in das pallhauß hinein tretten wolte, und sagte zu mir, mit disen* formal*ien, gehen sie mit hinauß, auß was instinctu oder* mandato *weis ich nicht, ich andworttete ihme aber, ich mische mich in dise händel nichts, sie gehen mich nichts an. Zum anderten bin ich vor kleinen* secundant*en begehret worden, es gehet mich nichts an, ich weiß nichts darumben, sechen sie gleichwoll wie sie es von einander bringen, und den handl hinterstellig machen, weillen sie die posten hin und her getragen haben* (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 79r–v).

48 *Dißes ist alles was ich zu sagen weis, und wuste nichts mehrers zu sagen, wan ich auch noch hundert mall solte befraget werden* (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 81r).

49 Čast in pravica (zadoščenje) sta bili osrednje gonilo maščevanja in reševanja sporov nasploh. Resnica v sodnih postopkih tedaj ni bila tako pomembna, bistven je bil ugled in ohranitev tega (Carroll, 2016, 121–124; Cavina, 2016, 581).

vedno uporabljena ista vrsta (hladnega) orožja in enaka oprava, enako pa je bilo tudi število mož na obeh straneh (Billacois, 1990, 5).

Franc Jožef grof Herberstein je bil dan po smrti obduciran, s čimer nas seznanita pričevanji brivskega pomočnika Wagnerja in cesarskega kužnega zdravnika dr. Pruggmayrja.

Brivski pomočnik Peter Sigmund Wagner, sicer zaposlen pri vdovi Weber, je pričal 4. januarja tega leta v Gradcu. Po odloku komisije je 3. januarja med 19. in 20. uro opravil obdukcijo[50] pokojnika.[51] Potekala je vpričo Petra Antona Ceronija, namestnika prokuratorja notranjeavstrijske dvorne komore, Ferdinanda Wirtha, tajnika notranjeavstrijske vlade, in doktorja medicine Lovrenca Mayrja. Wagner je pri obdukciji ugotovil, da je bil pokojnik zaboden z ostrim ozkim orožjem ali spado (*mit einem subtilen schmahlen waffen oder degen*). Vbod je bil zadan v levo stran trupa med četrtim in petim rebrom navzgor (*zwischen der vierten und fünfften rippen* ascendendo *gestochen worden*), pri čemer je predrl levo pljučno krilo in arterijo. Povzročil je hudo krvavenje in zlivanje krvi v prsno votlino ali votlino prsnega koša, kar je pripeljalo do smrti zaradi takojšnje zadušitve (*geschwindte* suffocation *und erstickhung*) s krvjo (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 73r).

Istega dne, 4. januarja, je pričevanje izdal cesarski kužni zdravnik dr. Martin Maksimilijan Pruggmayr.[52] Glede obdukcije pokojnega grofa Herbersteina je bil bolj natančen: potekala je 3. januarja ob 19.30. Tudi on je pokojnika imel za 25-letnega Karla Jožefa in ga je v pričevanju navedel kot štajerskega prisednika. Njegovo poročilo je praktično identično Wagnerjevemu. Smrtni vbod ali zamah je bil zadan na levi strani trupa dva prsta pod prsmi in je predrl pljuča, s čimer je takoj prišlo do zadušitve. V prsni votlini je našel za več kot maseljc zakrknjene krvi (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 71r).[53]

EPILOG

Pokojni grof Herberstein je bil, tako kot njegova starša in sorojenci, pokopan pri graških jezuitih. Za univerzalno dedinjo je oporočno imenoval starejšo sestro Marijo Barbaro, ki se je za dedinjo uradno razglasila 4. februarja 1713

50 Obdukcije so do srede 16. stoletja navadno opravljali priučeni brivci. Profesor kirurgije Andrej Vesalius (1514–1564) je leta 1543 z znamenitim delom *De humani corporis fabrica* anatomijo povzdignil v znanost ter poznejši temelj šolske in znanstvene medicine. Njegovo delo je več kot dve stoletji veljalo za učbenik funkcionalne anatomije in praktične zdravniške dejavnosti ter je močno vplivalo na zdravnike, ki so do tedaj podcenjevali ročno delo (Borisov, 1985, 138–140).

51 Wagner je pokojnika v poročilu označil za 25-letnega Karla [sic!] Jožefa grofa Herbersteina (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 73r).

52 Prvotno je v uvodu zapisal, da je pričevanje izdal na pobudo odloka Jurija Ferdinanda grofa Falbenhaupta, notranjeavstrijskega deželnega namestnika, vendar je njegovo ime prečrtal in ga nadomestil s preiskovalno komisijo (*ainer löblichen inquisitions gumission*) (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 71r).

53 [*M*]*ehr alß ein maß verstokhtes gebliet in* cavitate pectoris *gefunden worden ist* (prav tam). Maseljc je znašal okoli 3,5 decilitra (SSKJ, 2014, 763).

(StLA, LR 403, H. 2, 175r). Sodni proces proti grofu Rechbergu se je formalno zaključil 23. septembra tega leta. Tedaj je njegov sekundant Filip grof Lodron za sodelovanje pri uboju grofa Herbersteina ob plačilu jamstva, da ne bo pobegnil, prejel varno spremstvo (salva conductus) in zaščito, da se je lahko zagovarjal s prostosti.[54] Olajševalne okoliščine so zanj pomenile sodišču poslana pisna izjava ali spomenica, poročilo in atest svétnikov (*geraichte* memorial, *dan hierüber in sachen erstattete bericht und rät*[*liche*] *guettachten*). Cesarska in kraljeva odločba je bila v Gradcu potrjena dan pozneje, grofu Lodronu pa sporočena po 30. septembru (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 1v, 2v). Za grofa Lodrona je znano, da je umrl do 5. maja 1718, ko je bil pokopan v veliko kripto graške cerkve sv. Krvi (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 586). Razplet naše zgodbe ni zadovoljiv, saj ne vemo, kakšna je bila razsodba grofu Rechbergu. Iz odgovora grofa Attemsa je razvidno, da grofov Lodrona in Rechberga po dvoboju ni bilo več videti. Čeravno je bil kazenski izgon v teh primerih dosojen zelo redko, pa so storilci navadno sami zapustili dvor, mesto ali kraljestvo. Prostovoljni samoizgon storilca, najpogosteje na njegovo posestvo,[55] je v praksi pomenil odpoved vsem funkcijam in pravicam ter je predstavljal demonstracijo skromnosti v času, ko je čakal na pomilostitev ali oprostitev. Takšno izgnanstvo je bilo samokaznovanje oziroma samoponižanje, ki je prekinilo njegovo kariero, mrežo znancev in ga za daljše obdobje (lahko tudi za več let) oddaljilo od domačega okolja (Billacois, 1990, 109, 161).[56] Za grofa Rechberga umik ni bil tako tragičen, saj je že drugače deloval na Bavarskem. Morda ga je zaščitil vpliv bavarskega volilnega

54 [*D*]*em* supplici*erenden herrn graffen von Lodron ein gewöhnlicher* salvus conductus *gegen præstierung einer annemblichen* caution de non fugiendo *außgeförttiget werde* (StLA, LR 416, H. 1, 2r–v). O varnem spremstvu ali zagotovilu varnosti (salvus conductus) prim. Vilfan, 1995, 87; Oman, 2016, 83–84. Varno spremstvo je bilo navadno odobreno tistim, ki so že dobili priložnost za pomiritev s svojimi nasprotniki ali sodiščem (Oman, 2016, 84), hkrati pa je osumljencem za uboj v sodnem postopku zagotavljal zaščito pred obteževalnimi okoliščinami (Povolo, 2015, 217). Na Štajerskem je varno spremstvo veljalo največ tri mesece, da je prejemnik lahko pripravil svojo obrambo na sodišču (Oman, 2018, 371).

55 Storilci so se pogosto pridružili cesarski ali kraljevi vojski, saj sta jim izkazana zvestoba vladarju in služenje monarhiji omogočila, da so prej dobili vladarjevo pomilostitveno pismo. Nekateri drugi so odšli na romanje v Rim, v upanju, da bodo v zameno za kakšno dejanje pokore dobili papeško oprostitveno pismo (Carroll, 2006, 128).

56 Odlok cesarja Leopolda zoper dvoboje v habsburških deželah, izdan 28. septembra 1666 in ponovno (vsaj) še leta 1682, je tako za dvobojevalce kot sekundante predvidel smrt z mečem (*durch das Schwerdt vom Leben zum Todt hingerichtet werden*). V primeru, da se je udeleženec dvoboja umaknil iz dežele ali se ni zglasil na zaslišanje, je bila predvidena deželnoknežja zaplemba njegove posesti, dokler se ni predal oblastem in poravnal z nasprotno stranko. Za prebežnika brez posesti je odlok predvidel t. i. državni preklic ali izobčenje (*Banno*), v posebnih primerih pa pranger (Quarient und Raal, 1704, 285–288; Ludwig, 2016, 77). Na tem mestu ni odveč ponoviti, da se hude sankcije na splošno niso izvajale in da je storilec, če je že bil pripeljan pred sodišče, skoraj vedno dobil vladarjevo pomilostitveno pismo. Smrtna kazen je bila v sodni praksi izreden dogodek, sodni postopek zoper dvobojevalce – tudi v primeru uboja – izjema in odsotnost sodnega postopka pravilo (Carroll, 2006, 214–215; Ludwig, 2016, 281; Billacois, 1990, 80, 109, 179).

kneza. Bil je tudi že star; umrl je dobri dve leti pozneje, 3. maja 1715, v starosti 69 let (Rechberg, 2021).

Za formalno poravnavo v primeru dvobojev je bilo pristojno deželno ali ograjno sodišče. Najvišjo raven je pri poravnavi predstavljal tajni svet, kjer je vladar v spore med svojimi pomembnejšimi podaniki posegal osebno (prim. Carroll, 2006, 223). Storilec je moral sodišču v zameno za ratifikacijo pomilostitve zagotovo plačati globo, poskrbeti za plačilo maš in morda opraviti še katero drugo pokoro (kupiti mašna oblačila, cerkveno opremo, dati za miloščino ipd.), včasih postaviti znamenje v spomin na žrtev, pokojnikovi družini pa izplačati primerno odškodnino, tj. krvnino (Oman, 2019, 705; Oman, 2016, 66; Billacois, 1990, 110). Dejansko poravnavo oziroma sklenitev miru med družinama pa je zagotovo demonstrirala še neka simbolna gesta (Darovec, 2018, 458–459).[57] Sprava s sovražnikom ali z njegovo družino je za krivca pomenila prvi korak, da je bil ponovno deležen vladarjeve milosti (Carroll, 2006, 230). Da so Herbersteini zahtevali ustrezno satisfakcijo, se razbere že iz pisma pokojnikove mačehe in sestre. Ne gre pozabiti, da so bili Herbersteini v glavnem mestu dežele Štajerske močno vpeti v njegove tokove in so predstavljali eno najpomembnejših štajerskih rodbin tega časa. V Gradcu so njene različne (stranske) rodbinske veje v tem obdobju posedovale več hiš: hišo znotraj Pavlovih vrat (v neposredni bližini Karmeliterplatza, kjer je prišlo do dvoboja), ki je spadala v okvir fidejkomisa glavne veje na Herbersteinu, svobodno hišo na (zelo verjetno) današnji Bürgergasse 6 in hišo na Herrengasse, v lasti pusterwaldske veje, ter vsaj še eno svobodno hišo na Herrengasse, v lasti mlajše stranske veje glavne veje na Herbersteinu.[58] Upoštevati moramo tudi podatek, da je rodbina Herberstein samo poltretje leto pred ubojem Franca Jožefa dosegla enega svojih vrhuncev, ko je celotna rodbina dobila državno grofovstvo.[59] Posledično so Herbersteini

57 Storilec oziroma njegova stran se je morala sovražnikovi ali užaljeni strani v znak zadoščenja pokloniti z gestami ponižanja in prošnjami za oprostitev. Po sprejemu oprostitve je sledila prisega o prijateljstvu, zatem pa so v znak trajnega miru med sprtima stranema sledili rokovanje, objem ali poljub (Darovec, 2018, 458–459).

58 StLA, LR 401, H. 2, 239r; StLA, LR 404, H. 3, 262r–v; Grahornik, 2021, 78, 110–112, 289, 293.

59 V državne grofe so bili ob Janezu Maksimilijanu IV. (1687–1716) iz glavne veje na Herbersteinu, njegovih stricih Janezu Ferdinandu ml. (1663–1721) in Janezu Ernestu (1671–1726) ter bratrancu Janezu Karlu (1698–1740; sin leta 1709 umrlega Janeza Ota) povzdignjeni še Leopold (1655–1727) iz viltuške veje, Janez Friderik Erdman (1658–1712) z bratom Janezom Leopoldom Erdmanom (1659–1729) iz šlezijske veje, Karel Leopold (1659–1726) in njegov brat Ferdinand Hanibal (1662–1712) s Pusterwalda, Vencelj Eberhard (1671–1729) iz spodnjeavstrijske veje Matzen ter Karel Friderik (1675–1739) in Janez Adolf Friderik (1690–1719) iz hrastovške veje. Vsi so lahko izkazali štiri grofovske prednike po očetovi in materini strani. Celoten naziv posameznega člana se je glasil: državni grof Herberstein(a), baron Neuberga in Hrastovca, gospod Lankowitza, dedni komornik in dedni stolnik na Koroškem. Poleg tega jim je pripadel častni naziv »visoko- in blagorodni«. Državno grofovstvo jim je bilo podeljeno z diplomo, izdano 30. julija 1710 na Dunaju (OeStA, AVA Adel, RAA 180.35, Herberstein, državno grofovstvo, Dunaj, 30. VII. 1710, 1–15, zlasti 3v–6r, 12r).

kot višje rangirani in bolje povezani oziroma vplivni lažje dosegli primerno zadoščenje.

Sestra pokojnega, Marija Barbara grofica Herberstein, je postala dedinja premoženja neporočenega mlajšega brata. Umrla je tri leta pozneje in bila 28. marca 1716 pokopana pri graških jezuitih. Mačeha Marija Regina je umrla 13. decembra 1718 in bila prav tako pokopana pri graških jezuitih (Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK 1705–1722, 503, 623). S smrtjo Franca Jožefa je starejša podveja prve stranske hrastovške veje izumrla v moški liniji, s smrtjo njegove sestre pa tudi v celoti. Premoženje je v skladu s herbersteinsko družinsko politiko verjetno dedovala mlajša podveja te hrastovške veje, ki je od druge polovice 17. stoletja delovala na Koroškem (blizu Volšperka) in na Muti (Grahornik, 2021, 246–250).

A TRAGIC START TO A NEW YEAR: THE DEATH OF FRANZ JOSEPH COUNT HERBERSTEIN IN A DUEL ON 2 JANUARY 1713

Matjaž GRAHORNIK

Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Milko Kos Historical Institute, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

e-mail: matjaz.grahornik@zrc-sazu.si

This article attempts to reconstruct the cause, the unfolding and the aftermath of the duel between two representatives of high nobility, Franz Joseph Count Herberstein and Franz Albrecht Count Rechberg, that took place at the beginning of 1713. On 2 January of that year, the then 24-year-old Count Herberstein engaged in a duel with a much older, probably 67-year-old, chamberlain of the Prince-elector of Bavaria. The two met the previous evening in the gaming and billiard salon at the Ballhaus in Graz, where the older count paid a compliment to his younger counterpart. The fact that the compliment was neither acknowledged nor returned by Count Herberstein annoyed him. After a short verbal »duel« and especially after the explanation by Dr. Menradt, who was in attendance, that Count Herberstein is suffering from hypochondria, Count Rechberg calmed down – or so it seemed. During the night he may have nonetheless decided that he cannot swallow his pride so easily. We can draw this conclusion because the next morning he returned to the Ballhaus accompanied by two acquaintances or »reinforcements«, Count Fugger, apparently a member of the entourage of the Prince-elector of Bavaria, and the local Count Philipp Lodron. From the testimony of Count Wurmbrand, we can draw a conclusion that the three were waiting specifically for Count Herberstein in one of the rooms. Franz Dismas Count Attems was at the time present in a different room in the building in the company of Franz Joseph Count Herberstein and possibly others. When at around 11 AM the three led by Count Rechberg entered the room, Herberstein took one of the smallswords lying there on the table. Count Attems testified that he took the smallsword even before they entered the room, but that seems less likely. Herberstein most likely saw the arrival of Rechberg, with two companions, no less, as a provocation and the second meeting of the counts resulted in a duel. The duel can be reconstructed quite accurately because of the preserved historical sources, mainly a sizable folder in the Landrecht fond of the Styrian Provincial Archives. Count Rechberg could rely on Count Philipp Lodron as his second. Count Herberstein wanted Franz Dismas Count Attems to be his second and did send a footman for him, but Attems did not oblige his request. According to the documents included in the judicial trial, it seems that Herberstein's second was the Nob. Franz Anton Hasberg. The duel took place at the Karmeliterplatz. The square was named after the Carmelite monastery where today are the premises of the Styrian Provincial Archives. The two counts duelled in the square after 11 AM. Rechberg (or possibly Lodron, his second) stabbed the young Herberstein with the smallsword in the left side of his torso. Bleeding, he was carried back to the

Ballhaus, where he died sometime before 11.45 AM, after receiving last rites. The next day the autopsy showed that he was stabbed at an upward angle between the fourth and fifth rib. The stab punctured his left lung and the artery, causing severe bleeding and pooling of the blood in the chest cavity, leading to death by choking on his own blood. He was buried in the family crypt at the Jesuit cemetery in Graz on 4 January. As a high-ranking and extremely influential Styrian noble family, the Herbersteins were probably in a position to obtain appropriate satisfaction with relative ease. When a duel ended tragically, the killer retreated to his estate, in most cases voluntarily. In practice, the retreat served as self-punishment (or self-humiliation) and constituted relinquishment of all his functions and rights while awaiting pardon. In the case of Count Rechberg, the retreat was not particularly tragic, as he operated in Bavaria. He was possibly additionally protected due to the influence of the Prince-elector of Bavaria, as he was his chamberlain. He died a little over two years after the duel. In exchange for the ratification of the pardoning letter, he certainly had to pay a fine to the judicial court as well as for masses and possibly also do some other kind of penance to commemorate the victim. To the family of the victim, he surely had to pay appropriate reparations, i.e. blood money. About his second, Count Philipp Lodron, it is known that for participation in the killing of Count Herberstein he received safe conduct (salvus conductus) and, in order to be able to remain free during the trial, had to pay a security fee to prove he had no intention of fleeing. Count Lodron died in 1718. The death of Franz Joseph Count Herberstein was particularly tragic for the family, as it meant the end of the older sub-branch of the first Hrastovec family side-branch on the male side. His estate was inherited by his only living sibling, his sister Maria Barbara. With her death three years later the aforementioned family branch died out completely.

Keywords: duel, homicide, Franz Joseph Count Herberstein, Franz Albrecht Count Rechberg, 1713, Graz

VIRI IN LITERATURA

Andritsch, Johann (ur.) (1987): Die Matrikeln der Universität Graz, Band 3: 1663–1710. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.

Ballhaus (2021) – https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ballhaus (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-11).

Billacois, François (1990): The duel. Its Rise and Fall in Early Modern France. New Haven & London, Yale University Press.

Borisov, Peter (1985): Zgodovina medicine. Poskus sinteze medicinske misli. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Borsetto, Luciana & Tilen Glavina (2013): Cenni sull'umanista Girolamo Muzio Giustinopolitano / O humanistu Girolamu Muziu iz Justinopolisa. V: Štoka, Peter (ur.): Hieronimo Mutio Iustinopolitano: Egloghe (Giolito, in Vinegia 1550), Le Vergeriane (Giolito, in Vinegia 1550), Operette morali (Giolito, in Vinegia 1550), Le battaglie (Dusinelli, in Vinegia 1582), Il duello (Compagnia de gli Uniti, in Venetia 1585), Lettere (Sermartelli, in Firenze 1590). Bibliotheca Iustinopolitana n. 3. Koper, Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja, 57–78.

Brockhaus (1856): Kleineres Brockhaus'sches Conversations-Lexikon für den Handgebrauch, Band 4: Oriani bis Zytomierz. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus.

Burg Hohenrechberg (2021) – https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burg_Hohenrechberg (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-11).

Carroll, Stuart (2006): Blood and Violence in Early Modern France. Oxford, University Press.

Carroll, Stuart (2016): Revenge and Reconciliation in Early Modern Italy. Past and Present, 233, 101–142.

Carroll, Stuart (2017): Das Duell im Alten Reich: Transformation und Variationen frühneuzeitlicher Ehrkonflikte. By Ulrike Ludwig. German History, 35, 1, 132–134.

Cavina, Marco (2016): Science of Duel and Science of Honour in the Modern Age: The Construction of a New Science between Customs, Jurisprudence, Literature and Philosophy. V: Jacquet, Daniel, Verelst, Karin & Timothy Dawson (ur.): Late Medieval and Early Modern Fight Books. Leiden & Boston, Brill, 571–593.

Chisholm, Hugh (ur.) (1911): Rechberg-Rothenlöwen, Johann Bernhard, Count. V: The encyclopædia Britannica. A dictionary of arts, sciences, literature and general information. Eleventh edition, volume 22: Poll–Reeves. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 952–953.

Darovec, Darko (2016): Turpiter interfectus. The Seigneurs of Momiano and Pietrapelosa in the Customary System of Conflict Resolution in Thirteenth-century Istria. Acta Histriae, 24, 1, 1–42.

Darovec, Darko (2017): Blood Feud as Gift Exchange: The Ritual of Humiliation in the Customary System of Conflict Resolution. Acta Histriae, 25, 1, 57–96.

Darovec, Darko (2018): Fajda med običajem in sodnim procesom. Primer krvnega maščevanja v Kopru leta 1686. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 28, 3, 451–476.

Darovec, Darko, Ergaver, Angelika & Žiga Oman (2017): The Language of Vengeance: A Glossary of Enmity and Peace. Acta Histriae, 25, 2, 393–432.

Ebner, Herwig (1967): Burgen und Schlösser. Graz, Leibnitz, West Steiermark. Wien, Birken.

Engele, Robert (2011): Durch elf Tore kam man einst ins alte Graz. Kleine Zeitung, Steiermarkausgabe (podlistek Damals in Graz), 16, 10, 34–35.

Engele, Robert (2021): Im Ballhaus spielte man Tennis. https://austria-forum.org/af/Wissenssammlungen/Damals_in_der_Steiermark/Im_Ballhaus (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-12).

Frank, Karl Friedrich von (1973): Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte für das Deutsche Reich und die Österreichischen Erblande bis 1806 sowie kaiserlich österreichische bis 1823, 4. Band (O–Sh). Schloss Senftenegg, Selbstverlag.

Frevert, Ute (1991): Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. München, C. H. Beck.

Gillmeister, Heiner (2008a): Der Topspin taugte nichts im alten *Jeu de la Paume*: das Tennisspiel in drei Jahrhunderten (1500–1800). V: Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von (ur.): Bewegtes Leben. Körpertechniken in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, Band 89. Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag, 205–230.

Gillmeister, Heiner (2008b): Das *Jeu de la Paume*. V: Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von (ur.): Bewegtes Leben. Körpertechniken in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, Band 89. Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag, 352–365.

Glavina, Tilen (2013): »Koprčan« Girolamo Muzio: pisma o renesančnem humanizmu. Acta Histriae 21, 2, 15–38.

Grahornik, Matjaž (2017): The Territory on the Right Bank of the Drava Between Maribor and Ptuj in Miscellaneous Sources from the 17th and 18th Century. Ekonomska i ekohistorija: časopis za gospodarsku povijest i povijest okoliša, 13, 25–35.

Grahornik, Matjaž (2021): Genealogija rodbine Herberstein s posebnim poudarkom na spodnještajerskih vejah (doktorska disertacija). Maribor, Univerza v Mariboru.

Graz-Hl. Blut, MMK – Mrliške matične knjige (MMK) župnije Graz-Hl. Blut, https://data.matricula-online.eu/sl/oesterreich/graz-seckau/graz-hl-blut/ (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-10).

Graz-Hl. Blut, PMK – Poročne matične knjige (PMK) župnije Graz-Hl. Blut, https://data.matricula-online.eu/sl/oesterreich/graz-seckau/graz-hl-blut/ (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-10).

Graz-Hl. Blut, RMK – Krstne oziroma rojstne matične knjige (RMK) župnije Graz-Hl. Blut, https://data.matricula-online.eu/sl/oesterreich/graz-seckau/graz-hl-blut/ (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-10).

Hartmann, Gerhard (2008): Die Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches. Wiesbaden, Marix Verlag.

Henry de Sainct Didier (2021) – https://www.wiktenauer.com/wiki/Henry_de_Sainct_Didier (zadnji dostop: 2021-05-11).

Hohenrechberg (2021) – https://www.alleburgen.de/bd.php?id=11524 (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-11).

Ilwof, Franz (1907): Rechberg, Johann Bernhard. V: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Band 53. Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 233–246.

Jansen, Max (2013): Die Anfänge der Fugger. Bremen, BoD.

Kokole, Metoda (2015): Glasbeni utrinki s potovanja štajerskega plemiča po Evropi 18. stoletja. Muzikološki zbornik, 51, 1, 57–79.

Kubinzky, Karl Albrecht & Astrid M. Wentner (1996): Grazer Straßennamen. Herkunft und Bedeutung. Graz, Leykam.

Low, Jennifer A. (2003): Manhood and the duel: masculinity in early modern drama and culture. New York & Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Ludwig, Ulrike (2016): Das Duell im Alten Reich: Transformation und Variationen frühneuzeitlicher Ehrkonflikte. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot.

Ludwig, Ulrike, Krug-Richter, Barbara & Gerd Schwerhoff (ur.) (2012): Das Duell. Ehrenkämpfe vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne. Konflikte und Kultur – Historische Perspektiven 23. Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft.

Merian, Matthaeus (1649): Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum. Franckfurt am Mayn. Ponatis faksimila iz leta 2005 v Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken.

Muzio, Girolamo (1585): Il duello del Mutio Iustinopolitano, con le risposte cavalleresche. Venetia, La compagnia de gli Uniti.

Naschenweng, Hannes P. (2020a): Der landständische Adel im Herzogtum Steiermark. Ein genealogisches Kompendium. Band I: Abele bis Juritsch. Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs 43/1. Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv.

Naschenweng, Hannes Peter (2020b): Der landständische Adel im Herzogtum Steiermark. Ein genealogisches Kompendium. Band II: Lachawitz bis Zwickl. Veröffentlichungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs 43/2. Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv.

OeStA, AVA – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Adelsarchiv (Adel), Reichsadelsakten (RAA), 180.35 Herberstein, Reichsgrafenstand, Wien, 30. VII. 1710, 1–15.

Oman, Žiga (2016): Will auss der Vnordnung nit Schreitten: A Case of Fehde from 17th Century Styria. Acta Histriae, 24, 1, 63–100.

Oman, Žiga (2018): Maščevanje kot pravni običaj sistema reševanja sporov na Slovenskem v zgodnjem novem veku (doktorska disertacija). Maribor, Univerza v Mariboru.

Oman, Žiga & Darko Darovec (2018): In landt hochverbotten – sovražnosti med plemstvom v 17. stoletju na Štajerskem, Kranjskem ter v Istri ali o reševanju sporov med običajem maščevanja in novoveškim kazenskim pravom. Studia Historica Slovenica, 18, 1, 83–120.

Oman, Žiga (2019): Enmities and Peacemaking among Upper Carniolan Peasants in Early Modernity. Acta Histriae, 27, 4, 673–712.

Peltonen, Markku (2003): The Duel in Early Modern England. Civility, Politeness and Honour. Ideas in Context 65. Cambridge, University Press.

PMPO – Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož, Inventarna številka G 164 g, Jacob Bruynel, Josef Bartholomey Breni in drugi: Rodovnik rodbine Herberstein, 12 bakrorezov (genealoško deblo rodbine Herberstein iz začetka 20. stoletja).

Povolo, Claudio (2015): Feud and Vendetta: Customs and Trial Rites in Medieval and Modern Europe: A Legal-Anthropological Approach. Acta Histriae, 23, 2, 195–244.

Preinfalk, Miha (2020): The Travelling Gentleman Count Ignaz Maria Attems the Younger: His Ancestors and Descendants in the Slovenska Bistrica Branch of the Attems Family. V: Kokole, Metoda & Gabriele Haug-Moritz (ur.), The Letters of Count Ignaz Maria von Attems-Heiligenkreuz to his Father (1734–1738). Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Quarient und Raal, Franz Anton von (ur.) (1704): Codicis Austriaci ordine alphabetico compilati pars prima. Das ist: Eigentlicher Begriff und Innhalt Aller Unter deß Durchleucht'gisten Ertz-Hauses zu Oesterreich [etc.]. Wien, Leopold Voigt.

Radovanovič, Sašo & Polona Vidmar (2002): Starše, 31. maj 1677. Maribor, Kapital.

Rechberg (2021) – *Franz Albrecht Graf von Rechberg*, https://www.geni.com/people/Franz-Albrecht-Graf-von-Rechberg/6000000070655701120 (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-10).

Rechberg (Adelsgeschlecht) (2021) – https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rechberg_(Adelsgeschlecht) (zadnji dostop: 2021-1-20).

Rechberg und Rothenlöwen (2021) – *Johann Bernhard von Rechberg und Rothenlöwen*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Count_Johann_Bernhard_von_Rechberg_und_Rothenlöwen (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-11).

Rieckenberg, Hans Jürgen (1961): Fugger, Grafen. V: Stolberg-Wernigerode, Otto, Körner, Hans, Leber, Marianne, Monath, Wolfgang, Otto, Mechtild, Petzsch, Christoph, Rieckenberg, Hans Jürgen & Grete Ronge (ur.): Neue Deutsche Biographie, Band 5: Falck–Fyner. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 707–708.

Schwerhoff, Gerd (2013): Early Modern Violence and the Honour Code: From Social Integration to Social Distinction? Crime, Histoire & Sociétés = Crime, History & Societies, 17, 2, 26–46.

Small sword (2021) – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Small_sword (zadnji dostop: 2021-02-25).

Spanne (2021) – https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanne_(Längenmaß) (zadnji dostop: 2021-01-11).

SSKJ, 2014 – Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

StLA, Beratung – Katalog Herberstein. Katalog H/3 – Stammtafeln der einzelnen Linien des Stammbaumes der Familie Herberstein. Bearbeitet von Herbert Graf Herberstein, 1933.

StLA, LR – Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Landschaftliches Archiv (LA), Gruppe XIII, Landrecht (LR), Karton 403 in 416 (Herberstein).

Strobel, Richard (2005): Die Burgruine Hohenrechberg, Stadt Schwäbisch Gmünd. Burgen und Schlösser, 46, 3, 162–172.

Štoka, Peter & Ljuba Vrabec (2013): Muziove knjige v zbirki Rara in beneško tiskarstvo v 16. stoletju / I libri del Muzio nella raccolta Rara e la tipografia veneziana del Cinquecento. V: Štoka, Peter (ur.): Hieronimo Mutio Iustinopolitano: Egloghe (Giolito, in Vinegia 1550), Le Vergeriane (Giolito, in Vinegia 1550), Operette morali (Giolito, in Vinegia 1550), Le battaglie (Dusinelli, in Vinegia 1582), Il duello (Compagnia de gli Uniti, in Venetia 1585), Lettere (Sermartelli, in Firenze 1590). Bibliotheca Iustinopolitana 3. Koper, Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja, 11–56.

Urbanitsch, Peter (2003): Rechberg und Rothenlöwen, Bernhard Graf von. V: Neue Deutsche Biographie, Band 21: Pütter–Rohlfs. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 230–231.

Vaupel, Bettina (2014): Vorteil: Herzog! Die vergessene Geschichte der Ballhäuser. Monumente, 24, 1, 66–73.

Vilfan, Sergij (1995): Obljuba varnosti in njen prelom od dogodka do krajevnega izročila. Traditiones, 24, 1, 85–94.

Wißgrill, Franz Karl (1800): Schauplatz des Landsässigen Nieder-Oesterreichischen Adels vom Herren- und Ritterstande von dem XI. Jahrhundert an, bis auf jetzige Zeiten, Band 4. Wien, Johann Karl Schuender.

Zasebni arhiv Herberstein, Hanns Christoph. Lannach, Avstrija.

Zasebni arhiv Preinfalk, Miha. Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenija.

Received: 2021-07-15 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.13

RELAZIONI DI AMICIZIA TRA SALÒ E VENEZIA. IL CASO DELLA RIEDIZIONE DEGLI STATUTI DELLA MAGNIFICA PATRIA

Alessandro FAUSTI
Via Garibaldi 20/H, 25065 Lumezzane (BS), Italia
e-mail: alessandrofausti@gmail.com

SINTESI

La riedizione degli statuti della Magnifica Patria del 1620 permette di osservare le dinamiche intercorrenti fra la Riviera bresciana, la città di Brescia, del cui territorio la Riviera fa parte, e la dominante Venezia. Tramite l'analisi dei documenti custoditi nell'archivio di Salò è possibile ricostruire il percorso di riedizione e conferma dei nuovi statuti. Percorso ricostruito sia da un punto di vista istituzionale sia delle relazioni informali a esso sottese. Ne emergono il tema della protezione, il cui fulcro è costituito dal Provveditore inviato a Salò, e dell'amicizia, riferimento culturale delle imprescindibili relazioni informali necessarie per l'ottenimento della conferma degli statuti.

Parole chiave: amicizia, relazioni informali, protettore, Magnifica Patria, Salò, statuti

FRIENDSHIP RELATIONS BETWEEN SALÒ AND VENICE. THE CASE OF THE RE-EDITION OF THE STATUTES OF *MAGNIFICA PATRIA*

ABSTRACT

The 1620 re-edition of the statutes of Magnifica Patria allows the observation of the dynamics among the Brescia Riviera, the city of Brescia, of whose territory the Riviera was part, and the dominant Venice. Based on an analysis of the documents preserved at the archives of Salò it was possible to reconstruct the process of re-edition and confirmation of the new statutes, both from an institutional point of view and in terms of the underlying informal relations. Two topics emerged from this: protection, the fulcrum of which was the Provveditore sent to Salò, and friendship, the cultural reference of the fundamental informal relations essential for obtaining the confirmation of the statutes.

Keywords: friendship, informal relations, protector, Magnifica Patria, Salò, statutes

INTRODUZIONE

Il ricco archivio della Comunità di Riviera, in Salò, custodisce la documentazione relativa alla riforma e alla riedizione degli Statuti della Magnifica Comunità della Riviera di Salò.

Seguire l'iter della riforma permette di ricostruire gli equilibri interni ed esterni alla Comunità che si giocavano tra la Magnifica Patria, la città di Brescia, del cui territorio la Riviera gardesana formalmente era parte, e la Dominante Venezia, attenta ad armonizzare i tesi rapporti tra i rivieraschi e la città. Per la Riviera la posta in gioco consiste nel mantenimento delle prerogative e dei privilegi riconosciutigli da Venezia e osteggiati da Brescia[1].

Venezia inviava a Salò un proprio rappresentante: il Provveditore[2] era un nobile veneziano e suo compito era di garantire il rispetto degli statuti e amministrare la giustizia penale[3]. La frammentarietà dello stato veneto necessitava dell'appoggio dei ceti preminenti locali[4] per garantire gli interessi economici e fiscali della Repubblica ma anche la sicurezza militare (Pelizzari & Bendinoni, 2016, 123).

1 Le trentasei comunità che costituiscono la Magnifica Comunità della Riviera bresciana del lago di Garda erano suddivise in sei Quadre (Gargnano, Maderno, Montagna, Salò, Valtenesi e Campagna) ognuna rappresentata nel Consiglio generale della Riviera da sei rappresentanti. Un complesso sistema di turnazione permetteva a tutte le comunità di avere periodicamente propri rappresentanti all'interno del Consiglio. La giurisdizione della Riviera comprendeva inoltre otto comunità che non prendevano parte al governo della Patria: Arzaga, Botonago, Burago, Drugolo, Maguzzano, Muslone, Tignale e Venzago. Per un inquadramento della conformazione della Magnifica Patria e delle sue istituzioni cf. Scotti, 1969.

2 Carica conferita a un nobile veneto designato dal Maggior consiglio ogni sedici mesi. Questa figura si occupava di numerose e importanti funzioni quali la vigilanza sull'ordine pubblico, l'osservanza delle leggi e degli statuti della Riviera, comandava le forze di terra e sul lago e faceva eseguire le leggi. Aveva inoltre l'autorità di Camerlengo e doveva sorvegliare la regolarità dei pesi e delle misure nonché il mercato di Desenzano. Presiedeva il Consiglio generale della Magnifica Patria ma non aveva facoltà di interferire nelle votazioni. Nel caso non fosse in accordo con una decisione del Consiglio poteva interporre appello a Venezia. Il giudizio in prima istanza nelle cause criminali era affidato al Provveditore. Questi era coadiuvato dal Giudice del maleficio, che si occupava della formazione dei processi. I ricorsi in appello si svolgevano a Venezia. Al termine del suo mandato il Provveditore riferiva sul suo operato al Senato, per mezzo di una relazione. Il Capitolo I degli Statuti Criminali intitolato *Dell'ordine da osservarsi per il Clarissimo Sig. Proveditor, e Capitano della Riviera* definisce ruoli e compiti del nobile veneto: "Il Signor Provveditor, e Capitano della Riviera sia tenuto, e debba con buona fede, sinceramente, e senza fraude, con ogni suo potere conservar, difendere, e mantenere le Terre, i Castelli, i luoghi, e le Università; e ogni particolar persona; e tutti i beni di quelli, e di tutta la Comunità predetta, e insieme i Privilegi, le separazioni, le ragioni, le honoranze, il mero, e misto imperio, e il distretto, e anco la giurisdizione di essa; e nelle cause criminali, e nelle altre a se commesse far, e rendere; e far, che sia resa ragion, e giustizia, a ciascheduna parte, senza alcuna eccettuazione di persone; e secondo la forma della sua commissione, e secondo i decreti del Serenissimo Ducale Dominio Veneto, e secondo gli Statuti della Comunità della Riviera; tanto fatti, quanto da farli; e dove essi mancassero, far secondo la forma, e disposizione delle leggi comuni […]. Et di non ricevere, né permettere, che veruno della sua famiglia riceva cosa alcuna da qualunque persona, Comune, Collegio, ovvero Università; fuori che quello se gli paga di suo salario [...]" (Statuti, 1986, 2).

3 Brescia inviava a Salò un proprio rappresentante con funzioni di giudice nelle cause civili: il Podestà. Era questa una figura osteggiata dai rivieraschi in quanto incarnava la volontà intromissiva della città.

4 Peculiare risultava la mancanza di una classe nobiliare che, fondata su un diritto di sangue, guidasse la Comunità occupando le cariche di governo (Pelizzari & Bendinoni, 2016).

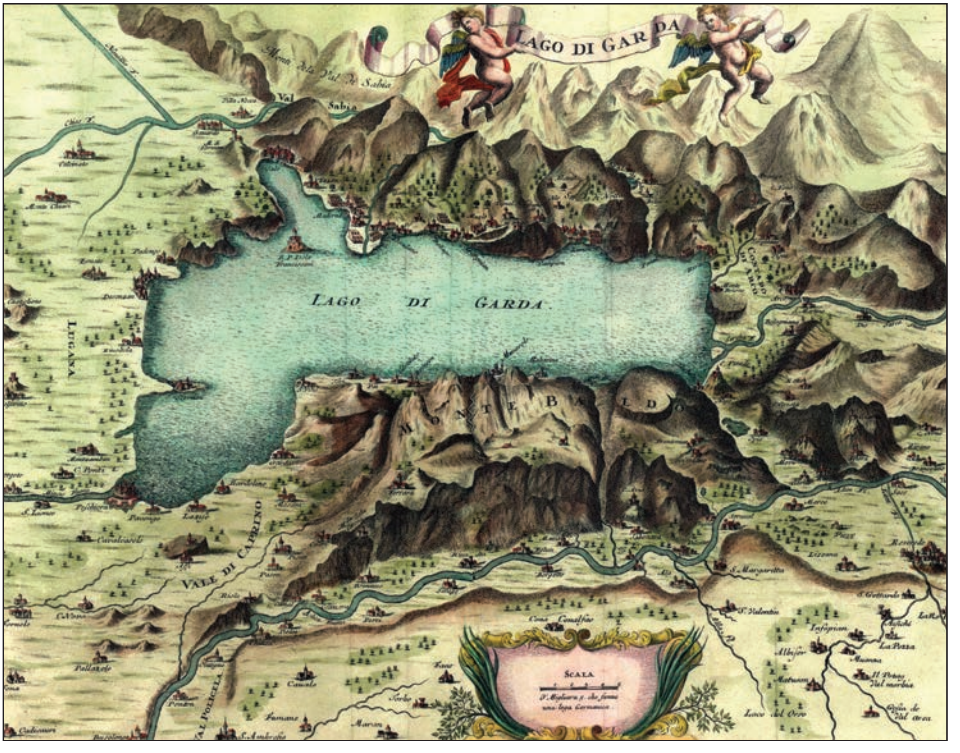


Fig. 1: In questa antica rappresentazione del Lago di Garda la Riviera Bresciana si trova nella parte alta della mappa, dove si distingue il Golfo di Salò (museoaltogarda.it).

Segno di questa necessaria interconnessione si ritrova nei rapporti di amicizia e frequentazione stretti dal Provveditore, così come dal Giudice del maleficio[5], con esponenti del ceto preminente locale. Queste frequentazioni dimostrano come

5 L'introduzione del Giudice del maleficio nel 1577 aveva costituito un momento di spaccatura fra la comunità di Salò e la Magnifica Patria. La situazione particolarmente tesa in Riviera, dove gli autori di gravi disordini rimanevano impuniti richiedeva un'azione più incisiva. Se Salò, a questo scopo, vedeva con favore l'introduzione in Riviera di un Giudice del maleficio che supportasse il Provveditore, la Magnifica Patria sosteneva che sarebbe stato necessario l'arrivo a Salò di rappresentanti veneziani maggiormente qualificati preventivamente selezionati dal Senato, ma solo per i successivi due reggimenti. Questa figura enfatizzava il ruolo di una giustizia punitiva che incanalava i conflitti all'interno del tribunale avente autorità su tutto il territorio della Magnifica Patria. Ciò avrebbe rafforzato il ruolo del centro di Salò favorendo gli interessi del ceto preminente ormai lì installato per difendere i propri interessi. Interessi difesi anche grazie alle loro più strette frequentazioni con il Provveditore e il Giudice del maleficio. Essendo il Giudice del maleficio esterno alla comunità, esso tendeva ad avere una partecipazione più disinteressata, favorendo così un maggiore controllo e gestione dei conflitti da parte del Provveditore. Il Provveditore assumeva comunque anche un ruolo di mitigazione delle intromissioni del Giudice del maleficio. Per esempio, a lui si ricorreva per opporsi alle citazione *ad informandum curiam* (Povolo, 2011, 174–176). Sulla turbolenza degli ultimi decenni del Cinquecento in Riviera cf. Sambo, 2010.

fossero principalmente le relazioni interpersonali a guidare le dinamiche economiche e di potere piuttosto che quelle istituzionali (Pelizzari & Bendinoni, 2016, 171). Avere dei buoni rapporti con il Provveditore poteva far sì che il notabilato locale mantenesse il proprio potere e i propri interessi economici. Se il Provveditore rappresentava gli interessi della Dominante, egli non poteva prescindere dal contesto locale anche nel momento in cui era chiamato a svolgere un ruolo di mediazione[6] nei conflitti fra le consorterie.

L'origine dell'autonomia della Riviera è da collocare nel turbolento contesto politico bresciano. L'impossibilità di una fazione egemone di ottenere da sola il potere all'interno della città di Brescia, e di conseguenza il mancato controllo da parte della città sul suo contado, diede modo alle comunità della Riviera di unirsi e ricavare così un proprio spazio di autonomia. Le basi giuridiche su cui si cercò di legittimare i diritti di indipendenza sono i diplomi imperiali concessi ad alcune comunità dagli imperatori Federico I, Enrico VI e Federico II (Bettoni, 1880; Fedele, 1994; Castagnetti, 2001).

Non sappiamo con certezza il momento in cui le comunità della Riviera bresciana si diedero dei propri statuti. Tuttavia gli anni 1334-1337 dovettero essere decisivi. Sono infatti gli anni in cui la Riviera appare come entità politica sovrana e indipendente, infatti partecipò a una lega costituita dalle repubbliche di Venezia e Firenze in funzione antiscaligera. Pur tuttavia la Riviera era conscia della propria fragilità e per questo richiese un protettorato a Venezia inviandovi una ambasceria. L'accettazione da parte di Venezia era subordinata alla stesura degli statuti da presentare in duplice copia (una da conservare in Venezia e l'altra a Salò). Tali statuti dunque sono sicuramente esistiti anche se sono perduti.

I più antichi statuti conservatisi arrivati fino a noi, anche se frammentari, sono gli statuti viscontei risalenti al 1351 (Rapisarda, 2004). Una documentazione più completa la si ha invece sugli statuti civili e criminali del 1386 redatti in seguito alla presa del potere da parte del nuovo signore Gian Galeazzo Visconti al quale la Riviera richiese il riconoscimento dell'indipendenza da Brescia e la conferma dei propri statuti e privilegi. Nel 1426 la Riviera rientrava, questa volta in maniera stabile e duratura, nel dominio della Serenissima la quale ne riconosceva l'autonomia amministrativa e l'indipendenza da Brescia.

La scarsità delle fonti purtroppo non permette un confronto fra gli statuti del periodo del protettorato veneziano e quelli di epoca viscontea, ma parrebbe che un corpo giuridico inalterato nella sostanza sia stato adattato all'alternanza delle dominazioni e alle necessità contingenti. Successive aggiunte e nuovi istituti vennero introdotti per rispondere alle mutate esigenze del governo della Comunità di Riviera, rendendo così necessario un riordino che si concretizzò nei primi decenni del Seicento (Fedele, 1994).

Il 25 settembre 1602 il Consiglio generale della Comunità di Riviera deliberava che dodici cittadini, dei più "fidati e sufficienti", fossero eletti con il compito di

6 Un ruolo di mediazione fra le parti era riconosciuto al Provveditore in quanto garante del sistema di potere locale.

riformare gli statuti della Magnifica Patria. Un proposito di riforma era stato avviato nel 1558 ma l'opposizione della città di Brescia fece in modo che i rivieraschi non potessero ottenerne conferma da parte di Venezia (AMP, 18)[7].

La riforma degli statuti procedette a fasi alterne per oltre un decennio. Nel 1609 il lavoro dei riformatori è completo (AMP, 19) ma viene sottoposto a una revisione prima di presentarlo a Venezia (AMP, 20; AMP, 21)[8]. Nel giugno 1612 (AMP, 22)[9] gli statuti sono approvati dal Consiglio generale che decide di incaricare i Riformatori di assumere le misure necessarie per ottenere la conferma presso la Signoria.

Gli statuti furono finalmente pubblicati in Salò il 29 settembre 1620 (Statuti, 1986, 129). Per arrivare a questo esito fu necessario coinvolgere anche i protettori della Magnifica Patria, spesso Provveditori che erano precedentemente stati a Salò come rettori, figure imprescindibili per far sì che le istanze e le esigenze locali fossero portate all'attenzione del centro dominante.

La figura del Provveditore ha una duplice valenza: rappresenta gli interessi della Dominante e il patto costituente che si fonda sul riconoscimento e la difesa di autonomia, privilegi e prerogative della Magnifica Patria. Se il suo operato risulta soddisfacente si rinnova il vincolo di fedeltà e devozione verso il Serenissimo Dominio. La comunione di intenti fra Provveditore e Magnifica Patria si esprime nel fatto che il favore raccolto dal rappresentante veneziano gli garantiva onorevolezza e prestigio, requisiti per proseguire nel proprio *cursus honorum*[10] (Povolo, 2020a, 89; Cozzi, 1995a, 189) e altresì nell'assunzione da parte sua del ruolo di protettore della Riviera.

Fulcro delle relazioni tra Salò e Venezia è la corrispondenza che regolarmente il Nunzio inviava al Consiglio Generale e ai Deputati della Magnifica Patria per tenerli informati circa gli avvenimenti che la riguardavano. La corrispondenza era assicurata da corrieri pubblici che partivano da Salò ogni mercoledì e sabato e ritornavano il martedì e il venerdì. Le lettere inviate e ricevute dal Nunzio[11] sono di particolare interesse poiché permettono di ricostruire le dinamiche informali che sottendono all'operato delle magistrature.

Già dai primi anni del dominio veneto i rapporti fra la Magnifica Patria e Venezia venivano curati da un Avvocato. Se in un primo momento l'incarico veniva assegnato saltuariamente, fu poi necessario istituire una figura che risiedesse stabilmente a Venezia per occuparsi a tempo pieno degli affari della Patria: il Nunzio.

7 La modifica degli statuti doveva essere approvata dal Senato a Venezia, per essere valida. Anche qualora il Consiglio avesse approvato una norma che interveniva modificando un singolo statuto della Patria, questa doveva essere sottoposta all'approvazione della Dominante.

8 È richiesto a Marc'Antonio Pellegrini, già *consulore in iure* della Serenissima, di visionare e dare opportuni suggerimenti in merito. La Patria sceglieva così una figura di primo piano fra i giuristi che avevano prestato il proprio servizio alla Serenissima, per avere un parere autorevole.

9 La parte venne approvata con 27 voti favorevoli contro 7 contrari.

10 Per esempio Renier Zeno dopo i suoi debutti fortunati era stato eletto alla podesteria di Crema. L'incarico, di una certa responsabilità, gli aprì l'accesso al Senato (Cozzi, 1995a, 189).

11 Ringrazio il Dottor Pelizzari per la disponibilità a utilizzare la sua tesi di laurea e per le preziose indicazioni (Pelizzari, 1971–1972).

Tuttavia sarà solo dal 1571 che i compiti e le caratteristiche della nunziatura verranno definite chiaramente (Scotti, 1969).

Il Nunzio veniva eletto dal Consiglio generale e la sua carica durava tre anni. Non poteva essere rieletto alla nunziatura immediatamente successiva. Doveva controllare che non venissero pregiudicati privilegi, giurisdizioni e ragioni della Magnifica Patria, soprattutto da parte bresciana. Per la loro difesa il Nunzio si interfacciava con personaggi di un certo rilievo da cui traeva informazioni importanti, che riportava puntualmente a Salò ed egli, proprio per merito del suo contatto con avvocati, patroni e protettori della Patria, poteva dare consigli su come operare, sebbene ogni decisione spettasse al Banco dei deputati.

Altro importante compito del Nunzio era occuparsi nel migliore dei modi del mantenimento del decoro della Patria. L'accoglienza era infatti un valore tenuto molto da conto per dimostrare pari dignità rispetto ad altri territori soggetti alla Repubblica e a tal fine comunicava sempre per tempo ogni spostamento di personaggi illustri verso la Riviera. Era altresì suo compito riverire il nuovo Provveditore eletto ed esprimergli le felicitazioni e gli ossequi nonché l'obbedienza e la fedeltà da parte della Patria. Il Nunzio della Riviera aveva il diritto di essere ricevuto dal Doge e dal Senato ed era invitato alle feste della Repubblica.

Fondamentale incarico del Nunzio era mantenere le relazioni con i protettori, a cui doveva consegnare di persona i regali da parte della Riviera in qualità di suo rappresentante. Aveva anche il compito di chiedere il loro intervento per patrocinare i *negozi* della Patria. Per far sì che la causa avesse una buona riuscita, egli doveva muoversi con astuzia nel contesto veneziano per ottenere udienza presso le magistrature in quei giorni in cui i protettori erano presenti fra i giudici, i senatori o i presidenti di turno.

Per questo al Nunzio Giovanni Calcinelli si raccomandava da Salò di consegnare nella mani del segretario la copia degli statuti, avvisandolo che il Provveditore avrebbe mandato una lettera ai suoi Illustrissimi Fratelli. Il richiamo ai *fratelli* del Provveditore è interessante in riferimento al tema delle relazioni informali poiché evidenzia il ruolo di congiunzione e mediazione svolto dal reggente fra gli ambiti territoriali soggetti e la Dominante. Con essi il Nunzio dovrà valutare come muoversi (AMP, 1).

Nella sua missiva del 27 giugno il Nunzio riferisce di aver discusso la questione con Francesco Erizzo, Giovanni Pasqualigo e Maffio Michiel[12], come richiestogli da Salò. I tre patrizi non a caso avevano precedentemente ricoperto il ruolo di Provveditori della Magnifica Patria. Il Calcinelli riporta di essersi rivolto "anco di altri a quali tengo qualche servitù et devozione" raccogliendone i pareri circa la maniera migliore di muoversi per ottenere la sperata conferma (AMP, 4)[13].

12 Francesco Erizzo aveva svolto il suo incarico di governo fra il 1599 e il 1600, Giovanni Pasqualigo fra il 1589 e il 1591 e Maffio Michiel fra il 1595 e il 1596.

13 È interessante notare come in questa fase iniziale il Nunzio si stia muovendo preliminarmente, per così dire, per sondare il terreno.

L'AMICIZIA

Dalle lettere emerge un concetto portante attorno al quale ruotavano i rapporti informali: l'amicizia. Per capire come l'amicizia era intesa dai contemporanei è utile fare riferimento alla vicenda dell'eroica amicizia, svoltasi sullo sfondo del conflitto tra patriziato ricco e povero fra Cinquecento e Seicento (Cozzi, 1995a; Cozzi 1995b, 330–331)[14]. In un contesto in cui la mancanza di senso del dovere e della giustizia faceva sì che i patrizi più ricchi si interessassero solo alle cariche redditizie e ricorressero alla corruzione e al broglio pur di mantenere il potere, queste cariche diventavano uno strumento di autorità, lustro e prestigio (Cozzi, 1995a)[15] e non più un dovere di servizio alla Repubblica.

L'amicizia eroica, che non si cura di altro che della compassione e dell'unione reciproca, va glorificata perché fa da contraltare ai vizi morali della società che attraverso il conformismo di una vita politica rapace ha dimenticato l'umanità e l'aiuto reciproco e che con ogni mezzo rincorre il potere e il suo mantenimento.

Luce nel buio morale di quegli anni fu la vicenda dell'eroica amicizia tra due nobili veneziani, Marco Trevisan e Nicolò Barbarigo. La loro amicizia cominciò fra il 1618 e il 1619 con la difesa del Barbarigo da parte del Trevisan contro delle accuse infamanti[16]. Il primo era isolato socialmente e il secondo viveva in difficoltà economica (Cozzi, 1995b, 331–332)[17]. Dopo aver saputo che la sua innocenza era stata difesa il Barbarigo invitò il Trevisan a casa sua per ringraziarlo. L'amicizia tra i due divenne sempre più stretta tanto che il Trevisan si trasferì a casa del Barbarigo mentre questi si occupava di estinguere i non pochi debiti dell'amico. La vicenda di questa insolita amicizia non mancò di destare polemiche e critiche per la disparità della relazione. Il Trevisan rispondeva in sua difesa che se c'era un creditore nella relazione quello era lui poiché aveva restituito l'onore all'amico: "La vita, senza onore, era indegna di essere vissuta" (Cozzi, 1995b,

14 Dalla metà del Cinquecento si era infatti affermata a Venezia una politica di neutralità che agli occhi del patriziato minore era stata causa della crisi economica perché aveva posto la Repubblica marciana in una condizione di marginalità nel contesto internazionale, danneggiando i commerci.

15 Importante nel sistema costituzionale veneziano a base esclusivamente elettiva era anche la popolarità, forse al massimo grado evidente nella pratica del broglio. Sul ruolo del padrinato politico e del broglio cf. Povolo, 2020b.

16 Barbarigo era stato Podestà di Treviso nel 1617 durante la guerra con gli arciducali e probabilmente nel corso del suo incarico aveva avuto degli scontri polemici con i comandi militari.

17 I protagonisti sono di famiglie ricche. Nicolò Barbarigo, nato nel 1579 non aveva avuto una brillante carriera politica, forse proprio perché dovette occuparsi della cura del patrimonio familiare. Sposato con Cecilia Dandolo aveva tre figlie. Marco Trevisan, nato nel 1588 non era sposato e non svolgeva alcuna attività, commerciale o politica. La ricchezza di famiglia derivava dallo *iuspatronato* dell'abazia di San Tommaso dei Borgognoni a Torcello: il titolo di abate spettava a un membro del ramo della sua famiglia e le rendite derivanti dalla carica venivano spartite tra i vari componenti.

348)[18]. In uno dei suoi *Dialoghi* (Zuccolo, 1625) titolato *Il Molino, overo della amicizia scambievole fra' cittadini* Ludovico Zuccolo, scrittore politico coevo, non a caso immaginava un dibattito tra il Trevisan e Domenico Molino. L'autore espone il suo concetto di amicizia e ne spiega il valore politico fondamentale al fine di garantire la tranquillità dello stato.

Per comprendere la dimensione sentimentale dell'amicizia è necessario rifarsi a quei testi coevi che, imponendosi come modelli di riferimento nel trattare sentimenti ed emozioni, hanno condizionato l'autopercezione dei fruitori e conseguentemente l'ordine sociale[19]. Non è infatti sufficiente rivolgersi al diritto in quanto costituisce un "ordine minimo di disciplina" (Hespanha, 2003, 45) che si intreccia con altri dispositivi di disciplinamento passanti attraverso l'addomesticamento dell'anima, più efficace e quotidiano delle norme giuridiche[20].

Zuccolo fa esprimere al Molino una visione dell'amicizia non egualitaria ma di equilibrio: bisognava garantire sia il mantenimento della "parità tra i pari e la disuguaglianza tra i dispari" sia le condizioni perché insorgesse l'amicizia scambievole. Questo tipo di amicizia, che Zuccolo considerava tra "dissimili" ovvero fra uomini di ceti sociali diversi, era più importante rispetto a quella tra "simili" cioè fra uomini dello stesso ceto sociale, in quanto fungeva da elemento di legame fra le diverse componenti sociali. Il modo migliore per ispirare tale amicizia era favorire la "conversazione" (i contatti e la frequentazione), in particolar modo fra giovani, nobili, plebei e fra gli uni e gli altri, tra i quali sussistessero legami di beneficenze e di ossequio (Cozzi, 1995b, 329). Nel *Dialogo* il Trevisan replica al Molino chiedendo quale fosse

18 "Marco Trevisan, il quale aveva restituito a Nicolò Barbarigo l'onore, riportandolo a testa alta nel consorzio sociale e attirandogli l'attenzione e il rispetto dei suoi pari, si era reso benemerito dell'azione più alta che un uomo potesse compiere, e avesse mai compiuto. E come se non bastasse, all'onore aveva aggiunto la fama; e da tutto questo, a conclusione, sarebbe venuta a entrambi l'immortalità" (Cozzi, 1995b, 348).

19 "Parlando di amicizia, di liberalità, di gratitudine, stiamo parlando di disposizioni sentimentali che non possono essere osservate direttamente. Per questo le correnti storiografiche che se ne occupano sono obbligate a lavorare sui testi normativi riguardanti i sentimenti e le emozioni. L'ipotesi da cui si parte è che questi testi dispongano di un'efficacia strutturante, in primo luogo circa l'autocomprensione degli stati d'animo, e poi circa il modellarsi dei sentimenti e dei comportamenti che ne risultano. In tal senso la letteratura etica, disseminata nelle opere di volgarizzazione per la parenetica e la confessione, costituisce un'altra delle tecnologie di modellazione dei sentimenti, particolarmente importante per la realizzazione dell'ordine nell'epoca moderna". Ma lo è anche la letteratura giuridica che in alcuni ambiti si occupa dei sentimenti, delle emozioni, degli stati d'animo. Esempi classici sono gli stati psicologici, per esempio in ambito penale: la colpa, il dolo, la menzogna, la follia, l'amicizia. Essi diventano presupposti per l'applicazione di norme giuridiche, fissando dei contorni per questi sentimenti e istituiscono norme che "disciplinano la sensibilità e i comportamenti" (Hespanha, 2003, 46–47).

20 Su ciò, non si può non pensare a Foucault, ma anche a Max Weber e a Elias e ai meccanismi di interiorizzazione della disciplina sociale. Un contribuito prezioso è stato inoltre dato dagli studi "storico-antropologici sul dono, la liberalità e la gratitudine quale cemento ideologico delle reti di amici e clienti" (Hespanha, 2003, 45).

allora l'utilità della legge se l'amicizia poteva bastare alla concordia fra i cittadini. I governanti dovrebbero, piuttosto che giudicare nei tribunali, occuparsi invece di fare insorgere l'amicizia fra i cittadini. Il Molino rispondeva che le leggi non governano l'amicizia ma i presupposti perché possa nascere e che per ottenere la concordia dei cittadini bisognava ricorrere sia all'amicizia che alla giustizia. Dunque la vicenda del Barbarigo e del Trevisan si innalzava a esempio di quei sentimenti che dovevano essere ritrovati in una società in cui a prevalere era l'interesse privato sul bene pubblico. L'amicizia assumeva in tal modo una connotazione politica.

Paolo Sarpi vide delle similitudini tra l'amicizia che univa Trevisan e Barbarigo[21] e quella fra Montaigne ed Étienne de La Boétie[22]. I connotati dell'amicizia che emergevano dagli *Essais* di Michel de Montaigne non riflettevano però la sensibilità normalmente diffusa all'epoca intorno all'amicizia, segno ne è che l'opera non ebbe successo[23]. Montaigne nel suo saggio sull'amicizia infatti non parlava di onore, virtù e immortalità. Era il sentimento, il ricordo dell'amico e il rimpianto per la sua morte a essere al centro del suo discorso: "Se mi pressate per dirvi perché io lo amo, sento che non posso esprimerlo se non replicando: perché era lui, perché ero io" (Cozzi, 1995b, 353–354; De Montaigne, 2012; Aymard, 2001, 362).

L'analisi di Miller sottolinea come l'amicizia occupasse un posto preminente nelle discussioni coeve e servisse per un modello di "cittadino" nei dibattiti politici. Ne *La civile conversatione* (pubblicata nel 1574) Stefano Guazzo utilizza il concetto di amicizia per ridefinire l'identità pubblica del "cittadino", chiamandola "società civile". Civile, per Guazzo, è un riferimento a delle qualità individuali che riguardano il comportamento fra i "cittadini". Civile non si riferisce all'azione politica, bensì alle relazioni sociali che un individuo tesse intorno a sé. "Il vivere civilmente non dipende dalla Città ma dalla qualità dell'animo. Così intendo la civile conversazione non per rispetto solo delle Città, ma in considerazione de costumi e delle maniere che la rendono civile". E così definisce il reame della *conversazione*:

21 Trevisan fra le proprie amicizie aveva quella di Paolo Sarpi. Iniziata con una visita di cortesia nel 1613 quando il Trevisan era stato eletto Savio agli ordini, la frequentazione era continuata. La consolazione del Sarpi nelle visite del Trevisan era che finalmente aveva incontrato qualcuno che si aprisse con sincerità. La vicenda dell'amicizia con il Barbarigo non stupiva il servita che la considerava invece una manifestazione del carattere e del gran cuore del Trevisan (Cozzi, 1995b, 336).

22 Nel 1559, quando aveva ventisei anni, La Boétie era un poco più anziano di Montaigne: l'amicizia durò, intensissima, per quattro o cinque anni; poi finì improvvisamente con la morte di La Boétie, lasciando Montaigne in un grande dolore. Montaigne conosceva l'anima dell'amico come la sua e si sarebbe affidato a lui più volentieri che a se stesso. Negli *Essais* usa spesso i termini tuffarsi e perdersi in relazione al rapporto con l'amico (Cozzi, 1995b, 337).

23 "Quel muoversi curioso e svagato tra i sentimenti più elevati, quella ostentata disinvoltura, quasi indifferenza, per opinioni o valori cui tutti si inchinavano, quel suo esaminarli e discuterli liberamente, dovevano lasciar perplesso il pubblico" (Cozzi, 1995b, 352–353).

> *Come comportarci con gli altri, in base alla differenza di possedimenti, per questo è nostro compito stare in compagnia, ogni tanto con il giovane, ogni tanto con il vecchio, ora con il gentiluomo, ora con chi di più umile provenienza, di tanto in tanto con i Principi, di tanto in tanto con le persone private, una volta con l'erudito, un'altra con l'ignorante, ora con il nostro connazionale, e poi con gli stranieri, ora col religioso, ora col secolare, ora con gli uomini, poi con le donne* (Miller, 2001).

Nelle moderne città non può più esistere l'amicizia perfetta così come era intesa nell'ideale classico espresso da Aristotele che nella *Etica Nicomachea* la definiva come una relazione che legava uomini di ugual dedizione alla virtù. L'amicizia nella città osservata da Guazzo, un luogo in cui vivono uomini di differenti estrazioni, interessi e ambizioni, era stata rimpiazzata dalla *conversazione civile*. Al riguardo Zuccolo faceva un'ulteriore distinzione: la conversazione era collegata alla amicizia tra uguali mentre la beneficenza alla amicizia tra diseguali, entrambe erano utili per la tranquillità e l'unione dei cittadini, ma per Zuccolo la beneficenza era più importante in quanto poteva unire molti organismi indipendenti in uno.

È possibile valutare appieno la portata della vicenda dell'eroica amicizia tenendo presente la coeva rivendicazione di Renier Zeno, sostenitore del patriziato povero. Le due vicende infatti sottendono un concetto di uguaglianza ed erano intrecciate come si evince dal fatto che i sostenitori dell'eroica amicizia erano anche i sostenitori del movimento della nobiltà "derelitta" (Cozzi, 1995b, 370). Per Zeno l'accentramento in poche mani del potere era sovversivo dell'ordine repubblicano[24], basato sul concetto di uguale cittadinanza: a prescindere dalle disuguaglianze di ricchezza a tutti i patrizi spettava il compito di governare. L'amicizia eroica forniva così un modello di uguaglianza che faceva da contrappeso all'effetto di frammentazione della stratificazione economica[25]. La spaccatura interna al patriziato si inseriva in un contesto caratterizzato dalla ineguaglianza cetuale. Le relazioni di amicizia si strutturavano in una rete di rapporti interpersonali che coinvolgevano il patriziato intersecando l'attività delle magistrature veneziane[26]: "il concetto di amicizia

24 Una ricostruzione del contesto a cui si fa qui riferimento si trova in Bouwsma, 1997.

25 Il pensiero politico dei *grandi* si basava su una concezione di amicizia incentrata sull'utilità, l'unica che poteva secondo loro essere adatta ai rapporti tra individui visti solo come entità interessate che desiderano egoisticamente soddisfare i propri bisogni. Tale concezione di relazione basata sullo scambio utilitaristico è quanto di più lontano dal concetto alto ed elevato di amicizia di Montaigne, per i *grandi* affatto applicabile alla vita politica. Alla vera amicizia, *rara avis*, riservavano esclusivamente una valenza privata (Miller, 2001).

26 Nello stato veneto l'aristocrazia si connotava per la peculiare caratteristica di essere benvoluta dal popolo, che non arrivò mai ad odiarla grazie alla capacità della nobiltà veneziana di prestare attenzione e modi umani nei confronti degli strati popolari. Massima espressione di questa benevolenza è l'azione del Consiglio dei dieci in difesa degli strati popolari rispetto alle soperchierie attuate dai nobili di Terraferma (Povolo, 2020b).

e delle complesse interrelazioni che esso comportava nella società medievale e di antico regime era ampiamente motivato dal pluralismo giuridico che la contraddistingueva e dalla nozione di *iurisdictio* che sottolineava l'armonia e l'autonomia dei diversi corpi sociali" (Povolo, 2020b, 184).

Queste relazioni di protezione, che si strutturavano attraverso le disuguaglianze sociali, mantennero comunque sempre una dimensione informale. La relazione di protezione non assumeva una dimensione ufficiale infatti non vi era nessuna legge che la definisse in maniera esplicita. Non vi era alcun dovere formale, ciò che univa i nobili che facevano i favori e i cittadini che li ricevevano, chiamati *suoi amorevoli,* era la naturale gratitudine. "Il concetto chiave di amicizia che sino a buona parte del Seicento viene utilizzato per definire pratiche sociali di interdipendenza tra persone diversamente disposte sul piano gerarchico dell'onore e della ricchezza" (Povolo, 2020b, 184).

Si può dire che il ruolo di protettori svolto dai rettori enfatizzava, seppur in maniera diversa a seconda del contesto istituzionale di riferimento, le relazioni tra policentrismo e repubblicanesimo. Ciò che Povolo ha definito come *conseguenze delle relazioni amorevoli*.

Questi rapporti di amicizia erano pervasivi della società nel suo complesso ed esprimevano la complessità della struttura del potere lagunare. Infatti tutti i cittadini non nobili di Venezia, così come i popolani, avevano un loro protettore che li difendeva da possibili abusi. Allo stesso modo il Consiglio dei dieci svolgeva la funzione di patrono del popolo nei confronti delle violenze e delle estorsioni da parte della nobiltà. Un istituto come quello del padrinato politico e la pratica del broglio illustrano inoltre come queste pratiche informali coinvolgessero anche il patriziato che, se pur formalmente fondava la propria legittimità politica sull'eguaglianza, era profondamente gerarchizzato su di un ordine plutarchico. L'attività istituzionale stessa non era completamente scevra da condizionamenti derivanti dalla pervasività delle informali pratiche di amicizia. Il confine tra formale e informale non era infatti netto e le categorie e i centri soggetti attraverso le loro relazioni di amicizia e di padrinato politico svolgevano una azione volta a condizionare l'attività delle magistrature e l'esito dei conflitti a proprio favore (Povolo, 2011, 147, 169–172).

Il ruolo di congiunzione che queste relazioni svolgevano fra il contesto locale e le magistrature era imprescindibile. Le relazioni di *amicizia* inserendosi nel contesto di un sistema politico pluralistico non apparivano in contrasto con esso, anche se la decisione politica doveva passare attraverso il sistema istituzionale.

LE RELAZIONI NEL VIVO

Il Nunzio Calcinelli informa costantemente Salò degli esiti dei suoi incontri con i protettori a Venezia. Secondo il Michiel[27] imprescindibile sarà il coinvolgimento di Brescia. Della stessa opinione è anche il *Proveditore novo*[28] il quale dà dei consigli al Nunzio sostenendo che sarà necessario procurare che non sia l'intero Senato a occuparsi della votazione per l'approvazione degli Statuti bensì due senatori che, con la delega dell'autorità del Senato, possano occuparsene (AMP, 16). Sia il Pasqualigo che l'Erizzo e il Michiel, in qualità di protettori, sia il *Proveditore novo* Giovanni Barbaro, cercano di avvertire dei possibili pericoli e di guidare i richiedenti nel perseguire i propri obiettivi.

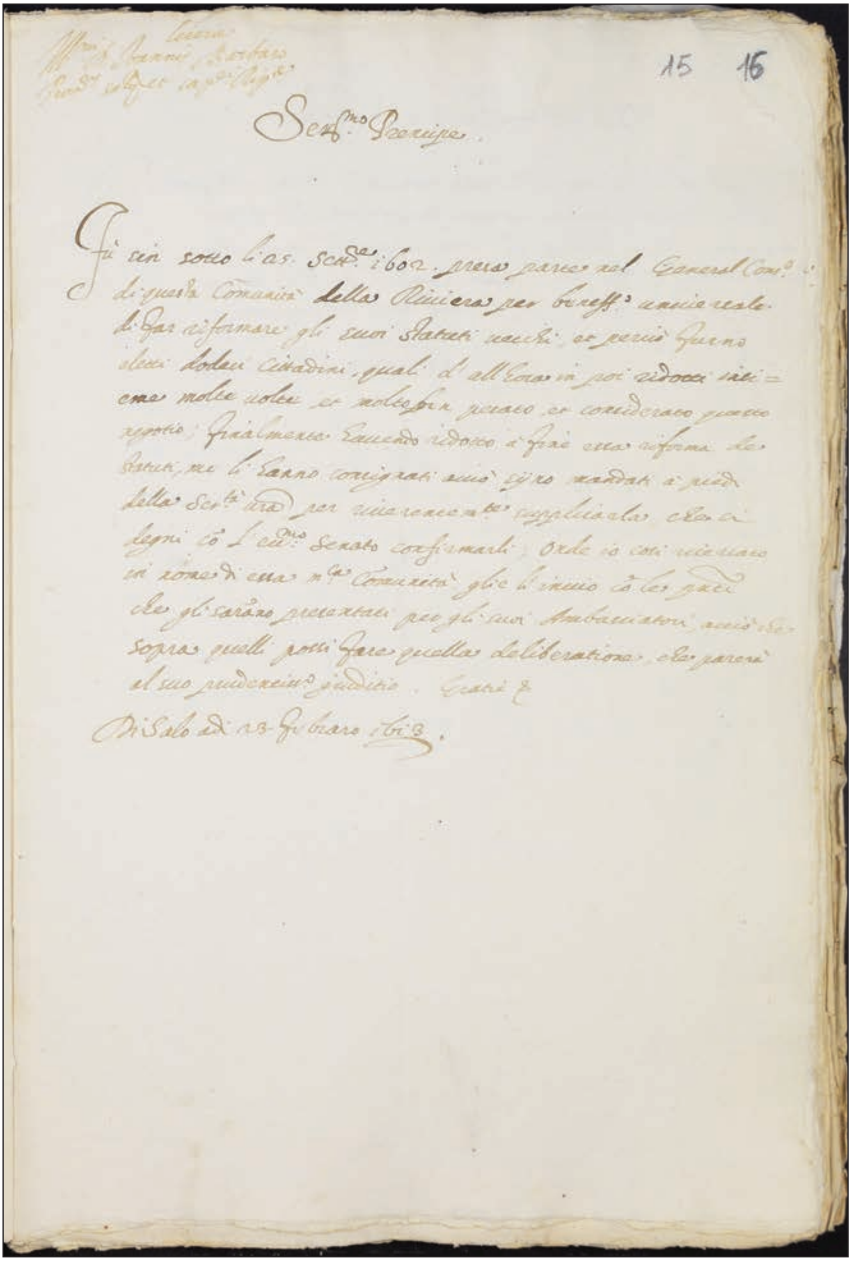
Un esempio di relazione di protezione è il caso di Francesco Erizzo, Provveditore a Salò fra il 1599 e il 1600, poi eletto Doge nel 1631. Nonostante abbia ricoperto importanti cariche (Gullino, 1993) che lo portavano fuori Venezia, i rapporti stabilitisi durante il suo rettorato a Salò continuarono a mantenersi attivi. La Magnifica Patria non dimenticava di presentare all'Erizzo la propria riconoscenza, come avvenne nel 1620 quando l'Erizzo fu eletto Provveditore generale. Al Nunzio viene dato incarico di congratularsi: "Quando sia vera la elezione Vostra Signoria sarà contenta d'andar subito a sua Eccellenza a congratularsi seco in nome della nostra Patria" (AMP, 25). All'Erizzo la Magnifica Patria si rivolse appunto, insieme ad altri due consiglieri e protettori tra i patrizi veneziani, in occasione della conferma degli Statuti.

Accade pure che i rivieraschi si rivolgano per specifici negozi ad altrettanti protettori (Fausti, 2020). Si delinea una rete di relazioni che, strutturatasi attraverso il ruolo ricoperto dai nobili veneziani giunti a Salò per ricoprire la carica di Provveditore, vengono attivate nel momento in cui le necessità richiedono l'intervento dei protettori a Venezia, in modo da patrocinare le istanze della Magnifica Patria.

Il 6 ottobre 1612 gli Eletti alla riforma degli statuti inviano ufficialmente al Nunzio a Venezia due copie degli statuti accompagnate da una lettera del Provveditore rivolta a Sua Serenità e da tre lettere indirizzate ai nobili ve-

27 Che la relazione con Maffio Michiel fosse importante per i rivieraschi è attestato dal fatto che nel 1608, appena eletto consigliere dei dieci, gli venivano inviate le congratulazioni da parte dei rappresentanti della Magnifica Patria a cui così lui rispondeva: "Con tutto che io ero sicuro per l'amore di tutta quella magnifica e onoranda Patria mi porta che elle avranno puro contento di ogni mio prospero avvenimento, tuttavia questo loro cortese testimonio mi è riuscito molto caro e perciò gli rendo affettuosissimo grazie, assicurandole che tutto quello che di potere e di forze si ritrova in me, tutto sarà sempre e in qualunque occasione speso per servizio di quella magnifica e fedelissima Patria" (Povolo, 2020a, 100). Con il Michiel si era anche contratta una parentela spirituale.

28 Si tratta di Giovanni Barbaro che sarà in carica dal 1612 al 1614. Il *Proveditore novo* appena eletto era immediatamente contattato dal Nunzio. Scopo era avviare buone relazioni fra i rivieraschi e il nobile. Il rapporto si sarebbe rafforzato durante il periodo di permanenza del Provveditore a Salò, sviluppando relazioni informali fondamentali per il sorgere delle relazioni di protezione attraverso cui si patrocinavano gli interessi locali. Queste relazioni erano spesso destinate a durare nel tempo e assumevano una connotazione affettiva, caratterizzata da amicizia e amore.


15 16

Ser.mo Prencipe.

Fu già sotto li 25 sett.re 1602 presa parte nel General Cons.o
di questa Comunità della Riviera per beneff.o universale
di far riformare gli suoi Statuti vecchi, et perciò furno
eletti dodeci cittadini, quali d'all'hora in poi ridotti insi=
eme molte volte et molto ben pensato et considerato questo
negotio, finalmente havendo ridotto a fine essa riforma de
statuti, me li hanno consignati acciò gli ne mandi a piedi
della Ser.tà V.ra per riverentem.te supplicarla che si
degni cô l'Ecc.mo Senato confirmarli. Onde io così ricercato
in nome di essa m.ca Comunità glie li invio cô le parti
che gli saranno presentati per gli suoi Ambasciatori, acciò V.S.
sopra quelli possi fare quella deliberatione, che parerà
al suo prudentiss.o giuditio. Gratie &
Di Salò adì 13 febraro 1613.

Fig. 2: Questa lettera, scritta dal provveditore Giovanni Barbaro e conservata presso l'Archivio di Salò, è quella che accompagnò gli statuti per la richiesta di approvazione a Venezia (Archivio della Magnifica Patria di Salò).

neziani Michiel, Pasqualigo ed Erizzo richiedendone intercessione presso le magistrature veneziane (AMP, 2) [29].

Nel periodo in cui prese effettivamente avvio la richiesta di conferma degli statuti, Provveditore a Salò era Giovanni Barbaro il quale strinse una forte relazione con la Magnifica Patria durante il periodo del suo rettorato a Salò. Tanto era stretta tale relazione che il patrizio veneto chiese alla Riviera di assumere il figlio Giacomo come proprio Avvocato, per svolgere il ruolo di patrocinatore a Venezia[30]. Senza dubbio il ruolo di *protettore amorevole* che il padre aveva svolto in maniera conforme alle aspettative, aveva fatto sì che la relazione nata durante il periodo del suo provveditorato a Salò si proiettasse verso il futuro.

---

29 “All’Illustrissimo Maphio Michel. A dì 6 ottobre 1612. Venezia
Li favori, che di tempo in tempo s’è compiaciuta Vostra Signoria Illustrissima far a questa sua devotissima comunità ci danno a ciò di supplicarla, come facciamo, a voler con l’autorità sua coadiuvare l’eccellente nostro Nunzio nella confermazione degli statuti di questa Patria da essa di nuovo riformati, siccome da esso Domino nostro Nunzio essa resterà del tutto informata, il che reputaremo haver tutto ottenuto dalla sua benignità et saremo sempre pronti a spendere le vite e sostanze nostre in servizio di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima a cui pregando dal Signore ogni compiuta felicità le baciamo riverentemente le mani.
All’Illustrissimo Zuanne Pasqualigo A dì detto
Mentre noi attendiamo che ci si presenti occasione di soddisfar in qualche parte alli molti obblighi, che da questa nostra magnifica comunità con Vostra Signoria Illustrissima ecco che ci si presenta occasione di aggiungere obbligo a obbligo, poiché desiderando questa Patria di ottenere da Sua Serenità la confermazione degli statuti da essa nuovamente riformati, siamo sforzati dall’immensa sua cortesia con la quale ha sempre protetto l’interesse di essa comunità a supplicarla anco in questa occasione haver per raccomandato l’eccellente nostro Nunzio, al quale si da ordine di procurare essa confermazione, il che siccome tutto stimeremo haver dalla sua benignità, et aggiungerà obbligo a obbligo così essa nostra Patria in generale, et noi suoi rappresentanti in particolare pregheremo il Signore per la sua esaltazione. In questo mentre le facciamo riverenza col baciargli reverentemente le mani.
All’Illustrissimo Domino Francesco Erizzo, Venezia a dì detto
L’amor e benevolenza che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima di tempo in tempo secondo le occorrenze ha dimostrato verso questa sua devotissima Riviera ci danno animo di ricorre hora alla benignità sua e con ogni affetto et riverenza di supplicarla, come facciamo con la presente a volersi compiacer di prestar all’eccellente nostro Nunzio nella confermazione degli statuti di questa magnifica Comunità per pubblica deliberazione di essa nuovamente riformati, quel solito favore e aiuto ch’è stata solita in altre occorrenze per grazia e bontà sua di dar ad altri rappresentanti di essa, che questo con altri infiniti obblighi, che le abbiamo, resterà certamente impresso nei cuori nostri et il tutto riconosceremo dalla benignità sua, alla quale per fine preghiamo da nostro Signore il colmo della felicità e le baciamo reverentemente le mani”.

30 Così i deputati mettono parte in Consiglio: “Avendo l’Illustrissimo signor Zuanne Barbaro nel suo meritatissimo e felicissimo reggimento mostrato ardentissimo desiderio di giovare e proteggere questa Magnifica Patria, come anche dopo in ogni occasione si è dichiarato acerrimo difensore e protettore, desiderando che nei suoi posteri continui quest’affetto, ha offerto all’eccellente nostro Nunzio il Clarissimo signor Giacomo suo figliolo, datosi all’esercizio dell’Avvocato con molta sua lode, acciò se ne vaglia nelle occorrenze pubbliche, senz’altro immaginabile fine, come dalle lettere pubbliche ora lette si vede; per corrispondere in qualche particella a tanto obbligo, i magnifici deputati mettono parte che a nome di questo consiglio sia a sua signoria illustrissima, con quelle più efficaci e accomodate parole, rese grazie di sì cortese e magnanimo affetto, assicurandola che resta e resterà in perpetuo nel petto di questi popoli impressa la memoria del suo felicissimo reggimento et della protezione, che tiene di questa Magnifica Comunità, accettando cortesemente la dedicazione del Clarissimo signor Giacomo suo figliolo, dando carico all’eccellente signor Nunzio, presente et futuro, che nelle cause et occorrenze pubbliche si valga del favore e valore di detto Clarissimo signor Giacomo” (Povolo, 2020a, 104).

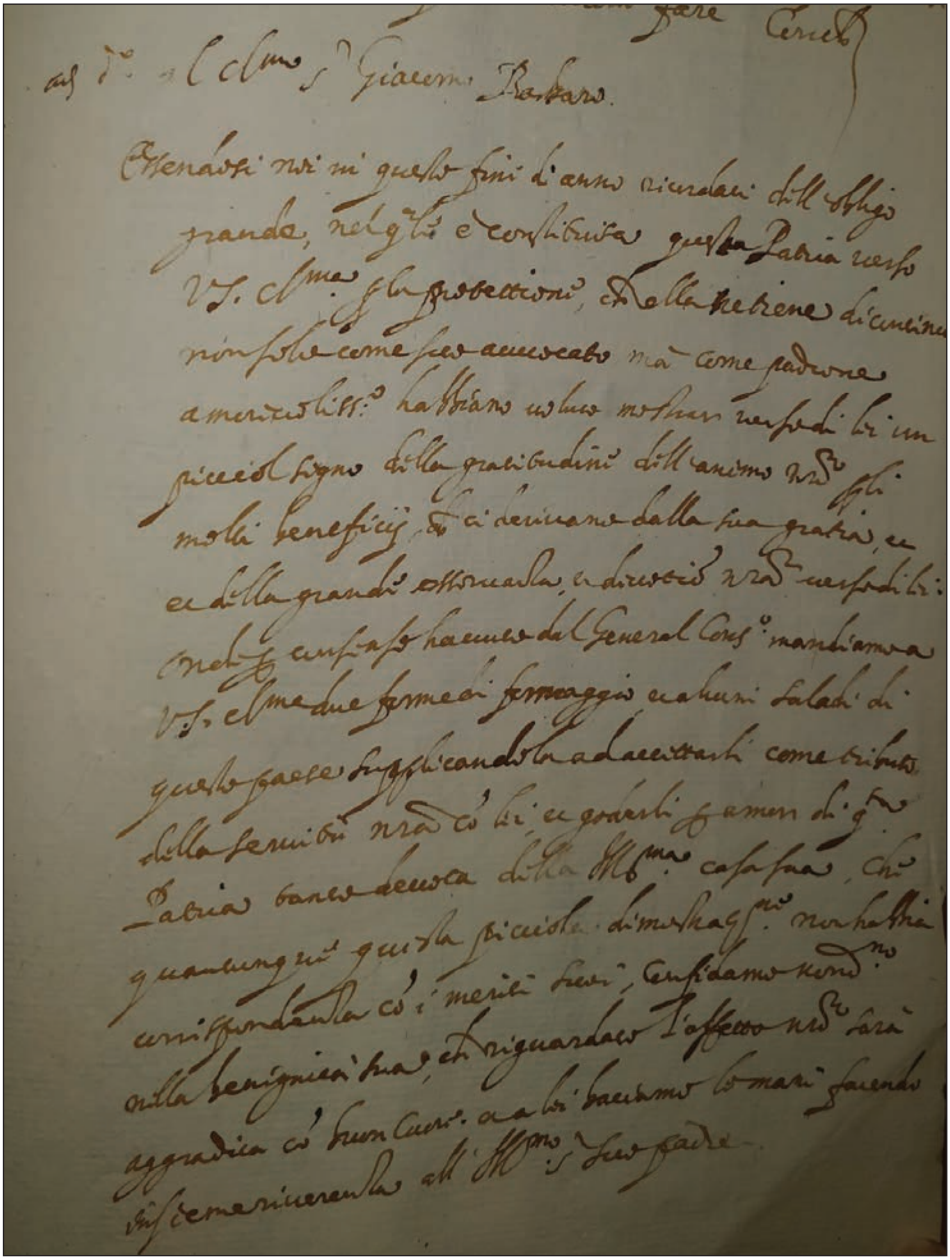


Fig. 3: In questa lettera, conservata presso l'Archivio di Salò, il Consiglio Generale della Magnifica Patria si fa carico di inviare a Giacomo Barbaro dei doni in segno di riconoscenza nei suoi confronti (Archivio della Magnifica Patria di Salò).

Correlazioni fra le relazioni informali e le reti di parentele del patriziato si possono rintracciare anche nelle informazioni relative alle nozze dei figli dei protettori. Così come emerge nel caso del Barbaro. Giovanni non tralasciò di informare della lieta notizia la Magnifica Patria che a sua volta si prodiga in complimenti e donativi:

> *Questa Patria che tiene di continuo impressa nell'animo la memoria del felicissimo governo che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima esercitò qui con somma sua laude, con universale soddisfazione di tutti questi popoli ha sentito somma allegrezza nell'intendere la nuova delle nozze dello Illustrissimo suo figliolo parendoli di partecipar molto di ogni felice avvenimento che succeda nella sua nobilissima casa per esser ella tenuta per persone e protettori particolari di questa Riviera* (AMP, 24).

Se possiamo intuire il senso utilitaristico della relazione, nondimeno emerge anche il tono dell'affetto e dell'*amore* che caratterizza le relazioni fra i protettori e la Magnifica Patria. Un'occasione così importante non poteva esimere la Riviera da una dimostrazione tangibile dell'importanza della relazione e dell'amicizia che intercorreva con il protettore, così il Consiglio Generale deliberava l'invio di alcuni doni:

> *Con questa opportunità in segno della somma devozione et osservanza che tutta questa Riviera porta a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima eseguendo quanto ci è stato imposto dal General consiglio con voti concordi li mandiamo alcuni pochi vasi di questi cedri, e acque con alcune altre cose descritte seguentemente l'incluso quali piacerà a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima di accettare e godere con quella benignità amorevole che se ne promette questa Patria sua devotissima. Supplicandola a mantenere il solito luogo della grazia sua alla quale humilmente ci rimettiamo facendo anco riverenza all'Illustrissimo Signor Giacomo.*
>
> Le robe mandate sono
> *Lingue dodici salate*
> *[Cervelleti] dodici gentili*
> *Forme di formaggio n. 3*
> *Vasi di fior di cedro in zucchero n. 12*
> *Vasi di agro di cedro n. 12*
> *Fiaschetti d'acqua di naranzi n. dodici* (AMP, 24).

Il 21 marzo 1613 vengono presentati gli statuti per la conferma. Il Nunzio informa che sono stati delegati i Savi e che il negozio è finito nelle mani del segretario Dolce[31] "dal quale habbiamo ricevute honoratissime e graziose parole et offerte" (AMP, 5).

31 Forse Agostino Dolce, legato all'ambiente sarpiano (Cozzi, 1995a, 110; Bouwsma, 1997, 138).

Il Nunzio richiede dunque che gli siano mandati due fiaschi di acqua nanfa che vorrà distribuire al segretario e all'Erizzo. Ma, sottolinea Calcinelli, non sarà certamente un errore omaggiare anche Servilio Treo[32].

> *Loderei che mi fossero mandati doi fiaschi d'acqua Nanfa della più perfetta che si ritrovi, perché io vedrò d'implicarla in quella maniera, che io saprei fare parte nel Clarissimo Segretario, et parte nell'Illustrissimo Erizzo, acconciata poi per me in ampolle honorate, che qui si usano a Venezia... Pur mi rimetto alla prudenza dei magnifici Eletti ai quali faccio questa comune con quella segretezza che si desidera, si anco si cortisazze di questa acqua l'eccellentissimo Treo non sarebbe fuori di proposito* (AMP, 6).

I riformatori stilano un elenco dei doni che invieranno a Venezia, affidando alla prudenza del Nunzio un loro efficace impiego. Si specifica che saranno da ripartire fra il nobile veneziano Erizzo, il segretario Dolce e il consultore Treo.

> *Mandiamo a Vostra Eccellenza un vaso d'acqua nanfa ben confezionata di n° 15 d'agua, cedri n° 6 per vasi d'agro di cedro ben confezionati di n° 7 d'agua da disponer in questo modo circa. All'Illustrissimo Erizzo tre vasi di agro di cedro i più grandi e n° 6 agua nanfa accomodata in quelle ampolle che lei giudicherà necessarie. All'Illustrissimo segretario doi altri vasi d'agro di cedro i più grandi e n° 6 agua nanfa accomodata come sopra. All'Eccellentissimo Treo i cedri e n° 4 agua nanfa accomodata come di sopra. Rimettendosi poi in quest'azione in tutto e per tutto alla prudenza sua, sicuri che da lei sarà sperato il tutto per il meglio di questa Patria et che non mancherà della solita diligenza sollecitudine et segretezza che ricerca questo negozio con che a Vostra Eccellenza si raccomanda* (AMP, 3).

Alcuni giorni dopo il Nunzio scrive a Salò per illustrare come ha distribuito i regali inviatigli. Sappiamo così che all'Erizzo viene donato più di quanto stabilito dai salodiani: "ho mutato circa i cedri il loro commando perché a me pareva che il dono dell'IIlustrissimo Erizzo non relevasse all'occhio mentre non vi si aggiungeva i cedri" (AMP, 7). Anche al Segretario vengono consegnati i donativi e anch'egli li accetta di buon grado: "qual parimenti ha mostrato di esserli stato caro" (AMP, 7). I cedri acquistati sono stati consegnati anche al Treo, del quale certo non ci si sarebbe potuto dimenticare. Il Nunzio è

32 Nato a Udine intorno al 1548 si laureò in legge nel 1566. All'attività di legale accompagnò incarichi di governo a Udine. Accompagnò i nobili veneziani in alcuni importanti rettorati della Terraferma, fra cui Brescia, assumendo anche l'incarico di giudice del maleficio. Nel 1610 viene nominato consultore in iure affiancando Paolo Sarpi. Numerosi furono i consulti redatti dal Treo: diatribe giudiziarie, statuti cittadini e comunitari, rivendicazioni giurisdizionali di città e comunità. La sua attività al servizio della Repubblica marciana si caratterizza per una decisa difesa della sovranità e l'affermazione dell'indipendenza veneziana nei confronti dell'autorità imperiale. Allo stesso modo sosteneva la necessità dell'affermazione dell'autorità di Venezia nei territori soggetti (ASVe). Morì a Venezia nel 1622. Dizionario biografico dei friulani, visitabile all'indirizzo online: http://www.dizionariobiograficodeifriulani.it/treo-servilio/ (last access: 2022-06-12).

così contravvenuto alle direttive di Salò ma spiega che i Savi presto potrebbero deliberare circa la conferma degli statuti. Così "non si meraviglieranno, s'io in parte ho mutato il loro comando et consiglio nel dispensare li cedri" (AMP, 7). Ogni momento sembra quello buono per riuscire a ottenere udienza presso i Savi. Bisogna perciò essere pronti in modo che si possa "prendere il fine di questo negozio".

Finalmente i Savi ricevono il Calcinelli, assieme al Dolce e al Treo. Questi si è espresso favorevolmente alla concessione della conferma. Tuttavia in alcune parti è intervenuto proponendo modifiche e aggiunte (AMP, 8)[33]. I tre Savi incaricati di rivedere le aggiunte del Treo sono Andrea Morosini, Lorenzo Marcello e Michiel Foscarini i quali, anche se hanno terminato il loro mandato, debbono portare comunque a termine il compito.

Insomma, dopo dodici anni dall'inizio della riforma degli statuti, sembra finalmente che il processo per ottenerne la conferma da parte della Dominante si sia avviato e che anche se sarà richiesto ancora tempo e impegno, l'obbiettivo perseguito dalla Magnifica Patria sembra ormai essere a portata di mano. Se le difficoltà da affrontare non sono di poco conto, servendosi efficacemente dei propri protettori si potrà proseguire nel negozio: "L'Illustrissimo Signor Maffio Michiel si mostra desideroso di gratificar questa Patria" in modo che si possa riuscire a "vederne il fine", informa il Nunzio, che chiede anche che "sarebbe bene inviarmi sei vasetti di agro di cedro et dieci o dodici libre di acqua nanfa per farne partecipe l'Illustrissimo Pisano e del figliolo, et esso Michiel che so quanto gioverebbero a negozio" (AMP, 9).

Nel maggio 1614 sappiamo da una sua lettera che ha ricevuto da Salò una serie di beni da dispensare ai sostenitori degli interessi della Riviera: prodotti tipici del territorio gardesano come agrumi e acqua nanfa, che pare venissero molto apprezzati. I donativi elargiti ai protettori avevano lo scopo di rinsaldare le relazioni fra la Patria e i protettori a Venezia.

33 La modifica di maggior rilievo proposta dal Treo riguardava il superamento dell'utilizzo del diritto comune come fonte sussidiaria. Questo ruolo, secondo il Treo, doveva essere assunto dal diritto della dominante. Ma se l'introduzione del diritto veneto avrebbe ampliato la capacità di ingerenza negli equilibri locali degli organi giudiziari, una modifica di questo tipo avrebbe comportato anche una palese violazione del sistema costituzionale vigente e pertanto non poteva essere accolta neppure da Venezia poiché ciò avrebbe comportato una profonda modifica dei rapporti fra la Dominante e la Magnifica Patria. La valenza del riferimento al diritto comune, come ha notato Hespanha, è profonda. Infatti "ha vigore non solo come *diritto sussidiario*, ma anche come *diritto modello*, basato sui valori permanenti e generali della ragione umana… è dotato di una forza espansiva che lo rende applicabile a tutte le situazioni non previste dai diritti particolari, trasformandolo al tempo stesso in un criterio col quale giudicare la razionalità delle soluzioni giuridiche contenute in quei diritti" (Hespanha, 2003, 102–103). L'imposizione del diritto veneto avrebbe infatti costituito un ulteriore ostacolo nella gestione dei rapporti fra centri sudditi e Dominante. Questi si mantennero invece all'interno di un quadro istituzionale che riconosceva le peculiarità locali e di conseguenza i suoi riferimenti culturali e le sue gerarchie sociali e di potere. La struttura repubblicana non permetteva infatti l'adozione di quelle strutture gerarchiche necessarie per una maggiore integrazione dei territori soggetti, rimanendo così ancorata a un particolarismo tipico dello stato giurisdizionale (Povolo, 1991; Povolo, 2006). Che le posizioni del Treo non potessero essere accolte nemmeno da Venezia è chiarito anche dal Nunzio Giovanni Calcinelli che riferisce di come Lorenzo Marcello, uno dei tre patrizi incaricati dell'esame degli statuti riformati, avesse espresso la propria contrarietà alle modifiche proposte dal Treo (AMP, 8).

"Ho ricevuta la quantità d'acqua Nanfa et li sei vasi di agro, quali dispenserò ove stimerò convenirsi per facilitar il negozio, et dove saranno dispensati ne darò avviso alle Vostre Signorie: per esser hora si ambiguo donde desideroso di applicarli bene et a proposito et a tempo" (AMP, 10).

Giovanni Calcinelli dimostra di muoversi con attenzione nell'ambiente veneziano, sapendo ben valutare a che personalità rivolgersi e calcolando i tempi opportuni, per far sì che gli sforzi della Patria potessero andare a buon fine.

Finalmente il Nunzio comunica a Salò di essere riuscito a far sì che altri affari della Repubblica non prevalessero e a ottenere così che i tre designati all'esame della riforma si riunissero per dare una valutazione delle modifiche apportate dal Treo. Essi hanno quindi deliberato che si proceda a redigere un documento dove siano messi a confronto statuti vecchi e nuovi, in modo che sia agevolata la lettura della riforma (AMP, 11). Le comunicazioni del Nunzio esprimono una certa urgenza: la Magnifica Patria ha speso denari, com'è necessario, per omaggiare con adeguati donativi i propri protettori. Sottolinea anche di non aver ancora dispensato l'*agua* e l'*agro* in suo possesso "per aspettar tempo et occasione più opportuna" (AMP, 12).

Se le relazioni non sono mai a senso unico, i rapporti di protezione non fanno eccezione:

"Il rapporto di protezione non era comunque a senso unico, in quanto la relazione di amicizia e di amore doveva incontrare una costante corrispondenza anche da parte del patrizio che nel passato aveva positivamente ricoperto l'incarico di provveditore, assumendosi gli obblighi che il suo ruolo comportava" (Povolo, 2020a, 103).

Doni e omaggi venivano spesso dispensati al protettore che si era impegnato nel sostenere vertenze giudiziarie presso Venezia, spesso legate alla difesa delle proprie prerogative e privilegi. Esistono casi di scambi di doni anche con personaggi che non erano patrizi, caso esemplare è quello di Servilio Treo che invia in regalo un libro, dono che la Riviera ricambia con piante di agrumi[34].

Nella relazione tra la Riviera e i protettori lo scambio non può essere paritario poiché l'azione del protettore fornisce una prestazione che dà la possibilità alla Riviera di avere una influenza sulle magistrature veneziane intorno alle decisioni che riguardano i suoi privilegi e le sue prerogative. Il dono è correlato al donatore: ogni attore dona in base alle proprie possibilità e la Patria contraccambia all'ottenimento di privilegi con la propria fedeltà. Tale dinamica si innesta sui rapporti delle relazioni informali veicolate dal patrizio veneziano. Gli agrumi,

34 "Il dono del libro che si è compiaciuta Vostra Signoria Magnifica Illustre et Eccellentissima… è stato aggradito da noi con quell'affetto che si conviene e al soggetto dell'opera e molto più alla dignità… qualità della persona che ce lo manda che rechiamo molte grazie, avvisandola che si come il nome suo è molto celebre in questa Patria, così da noi suoi rappresentanti non si rifiuterà mai alcuna occorrenza che ci si presenti di mostrar con affetto quanto sia stimata di affezione e grazia sua alla quale ci raccomandiamo di cuore" (AMP, 23). Lo scambio di doni tra la Patria e il Treo è evidentemente legato al ruolo da lui svolto nel tentativo di ottenere la conferma degli statuti.

l'acqua di cedro e l'acqua nanfa donati possono essere visti quasi come un gesto di riconoscenza personale, ma vi è anche un'altra componente da osservare: l'ottenimento del privilegio (o in questo specifico caso la conferma degli statuti) in cambio della fedeltà dei centri soggetti. Procurarla, per il patrizio che si fa patrocinatore, diventa un modo per accrescere il prestigio personale e del suo gruppo parentale. I doni al protettore rafforzano l'obbligazione reciproca: essi non possono equiparare il valore di ciò che si è ottenuto, ma in qualche modo sanciscono una transizione che obbliga ulteriormente fra loro le parti.

Per valutare l'importanza dei donativi bisogna considerare che nella società di antico regime il diritto manteneva una stretta relazione con la morale religiosa e con l'etica secolarizzata che "regolava le virtù, in particolare le virtù sociali come la beneficenza, la liberalità o la gratitudine. In questa prospettiva donare diventava quasi una obbligazione giuridica (*quasi debitum*) creando un quasi-diritto per i beneficiari dell'offerta" (Hespanha, 2003, 28).

Il meccanismo del dono si articola sul principio della reciprocità: dare, ricevere, ricambiare. Anche se il dono è apparentemente gratuito, l'accettazione da parte del ricevente instaura una obbligazione per la quale questo sarà obbligato a contraccambiare seppur in tempi non rigidi né stabiliti, con un dono di ritorno, cosa che permette il crearsi di una continuità del rapporto.

Questa visione del dono basata su un modello binario volontario-obbligatorio e dono-restituzione è stata elaborata da Mauss, ma studi storici successivi l'hanno superata sottolineando un maggiore spettro di possibilità e sfumature negli scambi di doni: "The gift landscape has many more paths through it, and its boundaries are more open then when Marcel Mauss tried to map it" (Zemon Davis, 2000, 13) [35]. Nel sistema culturale delle protezioni il dono rappresenta veramente qualcosa di più (*amor*, *charitas*). Quindi il dono crea, rafforza e conserva i legami sociali, aspetti da tenere in considerazione al fine dell'analisi dei rapporti informali intercorrenti tra la Riviera e Venezia.

Non era un'eccezione che il rapporto fra il protettore e la Magnifica Patria si connotasse anche di espressioni di *amore* e *amicizia* e coinvolgesse la famiglia del patrizio veneziano. Esempio ne era il rapporto di parentela spirituale fra il Mi-

---

35 Marshall Sahlins ha introdotto l'idea di uno spettro delle reciprocità. A un estremo c'è la reciprocità generalizzata con la gratuità nel dare assistenza e nel donare senza aspettarsi nulla in cambio e senza specificazioni su come e quando restituire il dono. Questo tipo di scambio è più frequente fra parenti stretti, dove il grado di affettività è maggiore. Nel mezzo vi è la reciprocità equilibrata nella quale la restituzione del dono avviene in tempi relativamente brevi ed è comparabile in termini di valore al dono inizialmente ricevuto. Esempi ne sono i regali dei matrimoni e quelli che mirano a ristabilire la pace. All'estremo opposto vi è la reciprocità negativa, ovvero il tentativo di ottenere qualcosa per sé senza voler restituire. Si va dai casi di un baratto astuto fino al latrocinio. Questo tipo di relazione si instaura più facilmente fra estranei o tra persone che comunque non hanno legami affettivi. Annette Weiner riprende la visone binaria di Mauss ma da una prospettiva di dinamica continuità, studiando lo scambio tra donne nelle Trobriand, mettendo in luce come nel tempo il donatore e il ricevente rivalutano in continuazione la propria e l'altrui posizione nella relazione attraverso gli scambi di doni (Zemon Davis, 2000).

chiel e la Magnifica Patria. Infatti durante il periodo del suo rettorato in Consiglio generale era stato deliberato di *tener a battesimo* il figlio del nobile veneziano[36].

La parentela spirituale si configurava come un legame fra la Magnifica Patria e il Provveditore e consacrava tale relazione attraverso una valenza sia di tipo religioso che politico[37]. L'importanza della parentela spirituale si esplica anche nell'assicurazione della continuità nel tempo delle relazioni di protezione che a loro volta erano garanzia del perdurare di tradizioni e consuetudini attraverso cui l'assetto sociale e il conseguente equilibrio del potere venivano mantenuti. Nel 1615 Maffio Michiel informava la Magnifica Patria della notizia del matrimonio del figlio. In una successiva missiva Michiel sottolineava come non solo si impegnerà a svolgere il proprio ruolo di protettore fintanto che sarà in vita, ma che lo farà insieme con il figlio[38]:

> *Parentela, amore, protezione: termini che evocano... un rapporto complesso, che si enucleava in queste occasioni nel cuore stesso della Magnifica Patria. La parentela spirituale si costituiva come un vincolo duraturo, che avrebbe dovuto, nelle intenzioni dei protagonisti, trasmettersi nel tempo, avvalorando quella dimensione protettiva essenziale per la salvaguardia delle tradizioni e del potere* (Povolo, 2020a, 113).

I CONTRASTI CON BRESCIA

Giovanni Calcinelli, interpellato dall'omologo bresciano che chiede a nome della città di vedere la copia degli statuti da approvare in modo tale che sia possibile verificare che non siano state introdotte novità lesive delle prerogative di Brescia, si adope-

36 "Essendosi degnato il Clarissimo Signor Provveditore et Capitano nostro per l'affezione che porta a questa speciale Comunità di richiedere per compadre a tener a battesimo un suo figliolo natogli nuovamente, il quale intende far battezzar giovedì prossimo però pur mancherà in questa occasione di dimostrare la fede et osservanza et reciproca affezione che ha questa Patria verso Sua Signoria Clarissima ringraziandola con ogni affetto, che si cortese dimostrazione d'amore e del buon desiderio suo. L'andarà parte che mettono gli Speciali Deputati che per questo Special Consiglio sia accettata questa grata richiesta et invito di Sua Signoria Clarissima et poi presenteremo con la posta parte sia commesso alli Speciali Signori Sindaco et Deputati che insieme accompagnino alla chiesa parrocchiale di questa terra esso figliolo, ove sia tenuto a battesimo per il Signor Sindaco, come rappresentante di tutta questa Riviera, dando agli Speciali Signori Deputati libertà di provvedere intorno a ciò, come alla loro prudenza parerà più spediente per honor di questa Special Comunità" (AMP, 17).

37 Anche se non tutti gli autori sono concordi, è stato osservato in maniera suggestiva come possa esistere una similarità funzionale fra patronaggio religioso e politico, incentrata sul culto dei santi. In particolare l'intercessione dei santi, soprattutto del santo patrono, è necessaria per rivolgersi a Dio, cui non ci si può rivolgere direttamente. Allo stesso modo per accedere al centro del potere è necessaria l'intermediazione di chi si trovi in una posizione più efficace per far sì che le istanze siano ascoltate efficacemente (Blok, 2000, 208; Boissevain, 1974, 275).

38 "Di questa sua cortesissima dimostrazione io gliene rendo quelle più affettuose grazie che io posso, serbando nel mio animo la gran somma di questo debito con fermissima volontà di procurarle per tutto il tempo di mia vita, insieme con detto mio figliolo, il pubblico beneficio et comodo di tutta essa magnifica Patria ed d'ogni uno delle vostre signorie in particolare. E se le mie forze mancheranno in alcun conto farò almeno che il mondo conoscere possa che io al suo cortesissimo animo verso di me non mi renda né sconosciuto, né ingrato" (Povolo, 2020a, 103).

ra affinché i bresciani non abbiano pretesto per opporsi all'iniziativa della Magnifica Patria: "acciò che questo negozio s'incammini con ogni sorta d'amorevolezza [...] che anco la Patria nostra possa proseguir la confermazione di essa riforma secondo il suo desiderio" (AMP, 13). Sa infatti che ottenere l'appoggio di Brescia potrà rendere più facile procurarsi la conferma di Venezia. E tuttavia nel contesto veneziano deve adoperarsi in maniera efficace. Si presenta così l'occasione di utilizzare *agro* e *agua* in precedenza inviategli da Salò: "Stimo, che hora sarà tempo d'implicar l'agro et acqua in servizio dell'opera et ove stimerò più convenirsi" (AMP, 14). Infatti Andrea Morosini è di ritorno a Venezia e subito il Calcinelli si reca a colloquio con il nobile veneziano. L'intento è favorire la riunione con gli altri due rappresentanti dei Savi per stendere la relazione sulla riforma degli statuti. Il Morosini, rassicura il Nunzio, se ne prenderà il tempo e parlerà con gli altri due patrizi.

Ma per il Nunzio la promessa del Morosini non basta. Dopo tanti sforzi bisogna assicurarsi che tutto vada per il meglio: "et non mancherò di far tutto quel possibile acciò di aver compimento" (AMP, 14). Parlerà anche con il Marcello e con il Foscarini ricordandogli che la sistemazione degli statuti nuovi è stata completata[39].

L'ingresso sulla scena della città di Brescia, che nelle intenzioni dei protagonisti avrebbe dovuto risolversi in poco tempo, comincia invece a dimostrarsi un affare piuttosto lungo. A più riprese il Calcinelli comunica a Salò che il Nunzio di Brescia rassicura sulla non opposizione della città ma che tuttavia rimane in attesa di alcuni memorialetti sulla revisione degli statuti (AMP, 15).

La carenza della documentazione non ci permette di dire con certezza se i bresciani stessero cercando di mettere in campo una tattica dilatoria. I mai sopiti conflitti fra Salò e Brescia lo fanno supporre. Alla fine prevalse la Magnifica Patria, un risultato notevole per l'affermazione dell'autonomia nei confronti di Brescia e per imporre all'interno della Riviera la preminenza di Salò.

CONCLUSIONI

Le missive conservate nell'Archivio di Salò permettono di ripercorrere l'intricato percorso delle relazioni fra un centro minore, adagiato su un golfo lacustre della Terraferma veneta, e la città lagunare e di osservare concretamente quell'intrico di relazioni fra periferia e centro che faceva in modo che le istanze provenienti dal basso fossero portate nel cuore della Repubblica. Queste relazioni restituiscono uno

39 "Non risposi alle lettere sue già alcuni giorni sono scrittemi intorno alla riforma, perché essendo uscito della città l'Illustrissimo Signor Andrea Morosino dal qual dipende in gran bona parte il negozio della revisione il tutto è stato in silenzio. Hora che è ritornato nella città, li significo, si come di cura ho ripigliato questo negozio, et di già hieri ne parlai a questo Signore persuadendolo si degni a darsene la comodità, qual mi rispose che vederà ad ogni modo di pigliarsene il tempo, et che ne dovesse parlare anco con li altri doi Illustrissimi colleghi per deputar il quanto onde domani vederò di parlare con gli altri, et non mancherò di far tutto quel possibile acciò di aver compimento in quanto per loro è stato deliberato, havendo si pronto in ottima forma et l'una et l'altra abinatione degli statuti vecchi et novi" (AMP, 14).

spaccato del funzionamento della Repubblica veneziana, di come si integrassero gli interessi locali e quelli generali.

I decenni a cavallo fra la fine del Cinquecento e l'inizio del Seicento sono caratterizzati da mutamenti socio-economici di cui la riedizione degli statuti può essere considerato un riflesso. Mutamenti che non sono caratteristici solo del contesto locale, ma anche del patriziato veneziano. Lo scontro fra *giovani* e *vecchi* veicolava tensioni interne all'aristocrazia veneziana che si innestavano su un accentramento di ricchezza e potere in poche mani. Una situazione che causava cambiamenti profondi degli assetti sociali, che si esplicavano a livello locale ma anche nel cuore del potere politico di quello che ormai era uno stato territoriale. Tali mutamenti non potevano quindi non coinvolgere i rapporti fra centro dominante e centri sudditi. Non a caso in questi anni emerge anche il dibattito sul ruolo del diritto veneto e sulla opportunità di adottarlo come diritto sussidiario nei centri sudditi della Terraferma. Dibattito che sottintendeva l'opportunità di incidere profondamente negli equilibri di potere dei centri soggetti e sui modi con cui interfacciarsi con essi. A prescindere dalla strada intrapresa questo ci dice che la problematica delle relazioni fra centro dominante e centri soggetti fosse presente all'attenzione del patriziato veneziano.

Profondamente inserite nel contesto sociale e culturale dell'epoca, le relazioni informali si strutturano sul concetto di amicizia e di protezione. La ricostruzione del contesto del periodo permette di capire e valutare meglio cosa potesse significare l'amicizia per i contemporanei.

La vicenda dell'*eroica amicizia* consente di addentrarsi nel conflitto che in quei decenni opponeva il settore sempre più ampio di patrizi che andavano impoverendosi a un ristretto gruppo che accentrava nelle mani dei membri delle proprie famiglie la ricchezza e la gestione del potere. Porre questo conflitto in relazione ai concetti di amicizia permette anche di aprire uno scorcio sulla dimensione morale del conflitto in corso. Agli occhi dei suoi sostenitori, ma anche dei suoi protagonisti e in particolare di Andrea Trevisan, l'*eroica amicizia* doveva costituire un esempio esplicito di come le relazioni fra gli uomini dovevano conformarsi, superando le differenze sociali. L'amicizia veniva così a costituire un elemento di unione trasversale, indispensabile per creare quella concordia atta a garantire la pace sociale. Caricata di questa valenza, l'amicizia viene ad assumere in maniera più marcata le connotazioni di un sentimento reciproco che tende a ridurre l'importanza delle differenze di status. Tuttavia sottintendeva a questa dimensione intima un troppo marcato concetto di uguaglianza, impossibile da adottare all'interno di una società cetuale. Se da un lato questo richiamo all'uguaglianza si adattava alle rivendicazioni di parte del patriziato ormai impoverito, che chiedeva una maggiore partecipazione alla vita politica, dall'altro non poteva adattarsi alla situazione di potere reale. La complessità della situazione interna allo stato territoriale, ma anche nel contesto delle potenze europee, richiedeva ormai un esercizio più agile del potere.

Che le relazioni di amicizia assumessero una forte valenza politica è attestato anche dal fatto che questa dimensione della relazione fra gli individui fosse ritenuta indispensabile per la pace sociale anche da parte di coloro i quali sottolineavano

l'importanza di mantenere una distinzione di status, conforme a un principio di ordine in cui sono ravvisabili echi della concezione tomistica dell'ordine cosmico. Una concezione dell'amicizia che mantenesse la diversità sociale poteva meglio adattarsi agli equilibri di potere interni al patriziato ma anche alla società nel suo complesso.

Così intesa l'amicizia non era scevra da assonanze utilitaristiche, era lontana dall'amicizia perfetta ma aveva il pregio di meglio attagliarsi alla realtà sociale. Così si sottolineavano quegli aspetti dell'*amicizia scambievole* in cui a prevalere era l'idea che a guidare la relazione fosse lo scambio reciproco di prestazioni. Così come gli individui sono imperfetti, anche le relazioni fra essi non possono essere perfette.

Le relazioni di amicizia e protezione dovevano infine essere ricondotte nella dimensione istituzionale delle magistrature: significativo in tal senso è il ruolo del Consiglio dei dieci come protettore del popolo. Tali relazioni collegavano i membri di gruppi sociali diversi ma anche il centro dominante con i centri sudditi: una dimensione dell'amicizia e della protezione, cui spesso i documenti richiamano, che si impernia sulle relazioni fra gli individui. Alla luce di queste considerazioni è possibile meglio capire la valenza delle relazioni informali incentrate sul ruolo del Provveditore, *trait d'union* fra la realtà locale e l'autorità dello stato veneziano che sorregge la legittimità dell'autonomia locale. Inseriti nel contesto dello stato giurisdizionale denotato da uno spiccato particolarismo giuridico, i centri sudditi veicolavano le proprie istanze alle magistrature veneziane attraverso un intreccio fra dimensione formale e informale.

Da questa esigenza derivava la continua tensione da parte della Magnifica Patria nel dover mantenere le buone relazioni di *amicizia* e *protezione* instaurate con i Provveditori durante lo svolgimento del loro periodo di rettorato a Salò. Relazioni denotate da una forte caratterizzazione utilitaristica, che non mancano però di rivelare a volte anche una dimensione affettiva. Dall'efficacia di queste relazioni, forti ma anche estese, dipendeva la possibilità di vedere ascoltate le proprie istanze presso le magistrature veneziane.

Nello stato veneziano, dove le élite locali non hanno la possibilità di ascesa e di integrazione nel sistema centrale, il ruolo di mediazione si esprime al massimo grado. Per le élite locali l'unica via di accesso ai luoghi decisionali dello stato veneto erano infatti le relazioni di amicizia e protezione. Rapporti di reciproci interessi quelli fra i componenti del ceto preminente locale e i Provveditori, entrambi attenti a mantenere intatto il proprio patrimonio di prestigio e onore. L'ottenimento della conferma degli statuti fu possibile solo attraverso quelle relazioni informali, di protezione e di amicizia, costantemente curate da parte dei rappresentanti della Magnifica Patria.

PRIJATELJSKI ODNOSI MED SALÒJEM IN BENETKAMI. PRIMER NOVE IZDAJE STATUTOV »MAGNIFICE PATRIE«

Alessandro FAUSTI
Via Garibaldi 20/H, 25065 Lumezzane (BS), Italija
e-mail: alessandrofausti@gmail.com

POVZETEK

Leta 1620 je Beneška republika odobrila reformo statutov »Magnifice Patrie«. Z dokumenti Skupnosti breške riviere, ki jih hrani arhiv v Salòju, je mogoče rekonstruirati večdesetletna prizadevanja prebivalcev Riviere ter njihovo pot do reforme in potrditve novih statutov. Tedanji lokalni družbenopolitični, gospodarski in kulturni kontekst se je tesno prepletal z dinamiko stikov med Salòjem in Benetkami, pri čemer je vlogo osrednjega povezovalca igral providur. Odnosi, ki jih je ta gradil v obdobju svojega uradovanja v Salòju in katerih cilj je bil čim boljše vladanje, so se namreč izkazali za izjemno pomembne tudi pozneje, saj je beneški plemič prav zaradi njih po vrnitvi v Benetke lahko učinkovito igral vlogo zaščitnika. Mesto Brescia je s posebnim zanimanjem spremljalo razvoj dogodkov, in ker je bila »Magnifica Patria« uradno del njegovega ozemlja, je Brescia odločno branila svoje pravice in interese ter poskušala zatreti avtonomijo Riviere. Sklepi Generalnega sveta »Magnifice Patrie« in korespondenca med Salòjem in Benetkami omogočajo razmislek o konfiguraciji odnosov med Beneško republiko in njej podrejenimi središči. Posledično je mogoče prepoznati ključni pomen prijateljskih odnosov. Oblikovanje stabilnih in trajnih odnosov ter njihovo obnavljanje skozi čas je bilo odločilno za to, da so Benetke odobrile statute Veličastne domovine.

Ključne besede: prijateljstvo, neformalni odnosi, »Magnifica Patria«, Salò, statuti

FONTI E BIBLIOGRAFIA

AMP, 1 – Archivio della Magnifica Patria (AMP), Statuti, busta 1, fasc. (fascicolo) 2, c. (carta) 2.
AMP, 2 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 11 e 11v.
AMP, 3 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 12.
AMP, 4 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 21.
AMP, 5 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 24.
AMP, 6 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 25.
AMP, 7 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 26.
AMP, 8 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, cc. 27 e 34v.
AMP, 9 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 29.
AMP, 10 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 30.
AMP, 11 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 31.
AMP, 12 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, cc. 32 e 33.
AMP, 13 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 35v e c. 38.
AMP, 14 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 37.
AMP, 15 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 42.
AMP, 16 – AMP, Statuti, busta 1, fasc. 2, c. 85.
AMP, 17 – AMP, Ordinamenti, busta 43, fasc. 14, c. 285v.
AMP, 18 – AMP, Ordinamenti, busta 45, fasc. 16, cc. 364v.–365v.
AMP, 19 – AMP, Ordinamenti, busta 47, fasc. 19, c. 92.
AMP, 20 – AMP, Ordinamenti, busta 47, fasc. 19, c. 98.
AMP, 21 – AMP, Ordinamenti, busta 47, fasc. 19, cc. 109v.–110.
AMP, 22 – AMP, Ordinamenti, busta 48, fasc. 20, c. 41v.
AMP, 23 – AMP, Estraordinari, busta 498, fasc. 4, c. 5.
AMP, 24 – AMP, Estraordinari, busta 498, fasc. 4, c. 34.
AMP, 25 – AMP, Estraordinari, busta 498, fasc. 5, cc. 62v. e 63.
ASVe – Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASVe), Consiglio de' Dieci, Parti Comuni, Filza 332, 24 maggio 1621.
Aymard, Maurice (2001): Amicizia e convivialità. In: Ariès, Philippe & Duby Georges (eds.): La vita privata dal Rinascimento all'Illuminismo. Roma-Bari, Laterza, 357–392.
Bettoni, Francesco (1880): Storia della Riviera di Salò. Bologna, Forni Editore.
Blok, Anton (2000): La mafia di un villaggio siciliano. 1860–1960. Imprenditori, contadini, violenti. Torino, Edizioni di Comunità.
Bouwsma, William James (1997): Venezia e la difesa della libertà repubblicana. I valori del Rinascimento nell'età della Controriforma. Bologna, Il Mulino.
Boissevain, Jeremy (1974): Rapporti diadici in azione: parentela, amicizia e clientela in Sicilia. In: Graziano, Luigi (ed.): Clientelismo e mutamento politico. Milano, Franco Angeli, 265–278.
Castagnetti, Antonio (2001): Il Garda medievale tra poteri locali e potere imperiale. Dall'età longobarda al Trecento. In: Sauro, Ugo, Simoni, Carlo, Turri, Eugenio & Gian Maria Varanini (eds.): Il lago di Garda. Verona, Cierre Edizioni, 225–249.

Cozzi, Gaetano (1995a): Il Doge Nicolò Contarini. Ricerche sul patriziato veneziano agli inizi del Seicento. In: Cozzi, Gaetano (ed.): Venezia Barocca. Conflitti di uomini e idee nella crisi del Seicento veneziano. Venezia, Il Cardo, 1–245.

Cozzi, Gaetano (1995b): Una vicenda della Venezia barocca. Marco Trevisan e la sua «eroica amicizia». In: Cozzi, Gaetano (ed.): Venezia Barocca. Conflitti di uomini e idee nella crisi del Seicento veneziano. Venezia, Il Cardo, 325–409.

Dizionario biografico dei friulani: http://www.dizionariobiograficodeifriulani.it/treo-servilio/ (last access: 2022-06-22).

Fausti, Alessandro (2020): La riedizione degli statuti della Magnifica Patria della Riviera (1602–1626). Relazioni informali tra Salò e Venezia, Tesi di Storia dal Medioevo all'Età Contemporanea, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.

Fedele, Antonino (1994): Gli Statuti Criminali della Comunità della Riviera del lago di Garda (1386). Brescia, Grafo edizioni.

Gullino, Giuseppe (1993): Dizionario biografico degli italiani, Vol. 43: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-erizzo (last access: 2022-06-16).

Hespanha, António Manuel (2003): Introduzione alla storia del diritto europeo. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Miller, Peter N. (2001): Friendship and Conversation in Seventeenth-Century Venice. The Journal of Modern History, 73, 1. Chicago, 1–31.

De Montaigne Michel, (2012): Saggi. Milano, Bompiani Editore.

Pelizzari, Giovanni (1971-1972): Economia e società nella Magnifica Patria nel XVII secolo attraverso le Relazioni dei Rettori Veneziani e le carte del Nunzio. Tesi di Storia Economica, Università degli studi di Padova.

Pelizzari, Giovanni & Ivan, Bendinoni (2016): Identità storica di un territorio. Il provveditorato veneziano della Magnifica Patria della Riviera. Salò, Ateneo di Salò.

Povolo, Claudio (1991): Il giudice assessore nella Terraferma veneta. In: Bonifacio, Giovanni (ed.): L'assessore. Discorso del Sig. Giovanni Bonifacio. Pordenone, Tipografia Sartor, 5–38.

Povolo, Claudio (2006): Un sistema giuridico repubblicano: Venezia e il suo stato territoriale. In: Birocchi, Italo & Antonello Mattone (eds.): Il diritto patrio. Tra diritto comune e codificazione (secoli XVI-XIX). Roma, Viella, 297–353.

Povolo, Claudio (2011): Zanzanù. Il bandito del lago (1576–1617). Tignale, Comune di Tignale.

Povolo, Claudio (2020a): Il protettore amorevole (Magnifica Patria della Riviera del Garda. 1570-1630). In: Ateneo di Salò (ed.): Sul lago di Garda tra passato e futuro. Storia, lingua, letteratura. Salò, Liberedizioni, 87–124.

Povolo, Claudio (2020b): Suoi amorevoli. Relazioni di amicizia e politica nella Venezia del Cinquecento. In: Sabaté, Flocel (ed.): Ciutats mediterrànies: l'espai i el territori. Barcelona, Istitut d'Estudis Catalans, 181–190.

Rapisarda, Carmelo A. (2004): Nuovi documenti relativi agli statuti della Comunità di Riviera riformati negli anni 1558–1615. In: AA. VV.: La Riviera di Salò: pagine d'archivio. Salò, Ateneo di Salò, 17–46.

Sambo, Alessandra (2010): Fazioni, tiranni e Dominante in lotta per il controllo della Terra. La parabola di Francesco Bertazzolo. In: Povolo, Claudio (ed.): Liturgie di violenza lungo il lago. Riviera del Garda tra ’500 e ’600. Salò, Ateneo di Salò, 15–53.

Scotti, Giovanni (1969): La «Magnifica Patria» nel ’500. Disegno storico delle istituzioni. Studi veneziani, XI, Firenze, 243–324.

Statuti (1986) – Statuti criminali e civili della Magnifica Communità della Riviera di Salò (Salò, 1626): ristampa anastatica. Bologna, Arnaldo Forni Editori.

Zemon Davis, Natalie (2000): The gift in Sixteenth Century France. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Zuccolo, Ludovico (1625): Dialoghi. Venezia, Marco Ginammi.

Received: 2020-07-08 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.14

BRITISH SOURCES ON THE CRISIS OF THE VENETIAN PATRICIATE DURING THE SECOND MOREA WAR: THE CASE OF DANIEL IV DOLPHIN

Marija V. Kocić
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, Čika Ljubina, 18-20, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia
e-mail: marija.kocic@f.bg.ac.rs

Nikola R. Samardžić
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History, Čika Ljubina, 18-20, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia
e-mail: nikola.samardzic@f.bg.ac.rs

ABSTRACT

This study is based on research that provided precise insights into changes in social relations in Venice during the last war with the Ottoman Empire, known as the Second Morean War 1714–1718. The focus is on very complex relations between Daniel IV Dolphin (1656–1729) and Andrea Pisani (1662–1718), as representatives of the two strongest factions in the patriciate. British sources, more precisely than Venetian contemporaries, related the general crisis of government with most important personalities on whom the war efforts were based. This study seeks to underline the credibility and precision of British sources while using achievements of contemporary Italian historiography, with respects to the visible progress over the past decades in research of the various phenomena of the Venetian patriciate.

Keywords: Venice, Daniele IV Dolfin, Andrea Pisani, oligarchy, patriciate, Morea, Corfu

FONTI BRITANNICHE SULLA CRISI DEL PATRIZIATO VENEZIANO NEL PERIODO DELLA SECONDA GUERRA DI MOREA: IL CASO DI DANIELE IV DOLFIN

SINTESI

Il presente contributo è il risultato di una ricerca che ha fornito una visione accurata dei cambiamenti verificatisi nelle relazioni sociali a Venezia durante il periodo dell'ultima guerra della Serenissima contro l'Impero Ottomano, conosciuta come la Seconda guerra di Morea (1714-1718). L'attenzione si concentra sulla relazione complessa tra Daniele Dolfin, detto Daniele IV (1656-1729), e

Andrea Pisani (1662-1718), rappresentanti di due correnti più potenti del patriziato veneziano del tempo. Le fonti britanniche, più esaurienti e scrupolose di quelle veneziane, associavano la crisi generale del potere ai rapporti tra le figure più importanti su cui poggiavano gli sforzi bellici della Repubblica di Venezia. La presente indagine si propone quindi di ribadire la credibilità e precisione delle fonti britanniche, utilizzando allo stesso tempo i risultati della storiografia italiana contemporanea, la quale negli ultimi decenni ha conseguito progressi tangibili nello studio dei vari fenomeni concernenti il patriziato.

Parole chiave: Venezia, Daniele IV Dolfin, Andrea Pisani, oligarchia, patriziato, Morea, Corfu

INTRODUCTION: SYSTEM WEAKNESSES AND GENERAL DECADENCE

Aside from international relations, Venice was attractive with its extraordinary ambience that offered sublime rest, entertainment or leisure. Italy provided enjoyment in Roman and Renaissance antiquities, climate and ambience. The British were among the first to discover Italy as such, as Venice was an important intermediary in their Mediterranean expansion. However, the relations between Britain and Venice were not defined precisely enough, primarily due to the lack of a trade agreement that would regulate the rights and obligations of British traders in the Venetian market (Kocić, 2018, 147–166). But thanks to a particular cultural interaction, British public opinion has built a belief in the exceptionality of the Venetian system and its ability to preserve the independence of the Republic, despite the substantial changes in international relations during the eighteenth century (Eglin, 2001, 11 and further). British travelers especially contributed to a closer knowledge of the Venetian political constitution and social practices. In the early years of the eighteenth century, Joseph Addison considered the Senate to pursue wise policies, and to use influence and procedures that were unknown in other contemporary states.

Despite his enthusiasm, Addison was also aware of the system's weaknesses (Addison, 1767, 63). The British critical view of the Venetian constitution culminated in reports by British Embassy Secretary Christian Cole with a detailed description of complex social tensions at the very beginnings of the Second Morean War (1714):

> *They have lost their Trade, they are full of debts, tho the Subjects are loaden with taxs, they are hated by all the Gentlemen in their Terra-Firma, and by all the Greeks, they have no military virtue at all, and think now only on preserving themselves, and not at all on resolut[ion] to doe any thing that*

may be dangerous. They are fallen into a perfect Oligarchy, the worst of all Governments every man gatheres what he can, and those who have reigns in the hand are full of money, whilst the rest sta[te] (TNA SP 99/60, 266v–267r).

Indicating the "perfect oligarchy" could be understood in accordance with Valker Hunecke's study of the negative connotation of the notion of oligarchy, the developments enabled 14–15 senators to take almost entire state power (Hunecke, 1999, 141, 144). In recent studies, from the past three decades, the transition from an aristocratic republic with elements of patrician democracy to an oligarchy has been examined more closely. The myth of patrician equality has been shattered, and was becoming clear how the political unity has disappeared in plutocracy as patrician factions entered into fierce political struggles (Hunecke 1991; Hunecke 1997; Hunecke, 1998; Hunecke 1999; Sabbadini, 1995; Sabbadini, 1999; Raines, 2003; Raines, 1991; Megna, 1997).

British visitors arriving in Venice from the mid seventeenth century noticed that the patricians were controlled by several of the most influential families, while the rest were expelled from power, and there were even patricians on the brink of survival, *baranabotti*. Segregation on the basis of wealth and thus the social influence arose after the co-optation of new families since the Candian War (1645–1669), and the practice continued during the First Morean War (Sabbadini, 1999, 495). Segregation also led to political divisions (Raines, 1991, 179). In the year in which the battle for Morea was fought (1715), the patriciate had 1,750 members (Sabbadini, 1999, 496, fn. 2).[1] In these circumstances, power was monopolized by several senators (*primati*). This confirmed the state of the "oligarchy", established since the middle of the seventeenth century (Del Negro, 1984a, 422–424; Del Negro 1984b, 311–337). The conflicts between "governo largo" and "governo stretto", between an oligarchy of the *ottimati* and a control over offices exercised by members of the lesser nobility was becoming structural. Oligarchy and plutocracy produced irreparable fractures within the nobility, but also between the Republic and its subject territories (Viggiano, 2013, 70–73). In all this, Broglio, today's Piazzetta di San Marco, gained special significance, a narrow space intended for the rest of the patricians during the session of the Grand Council and the Senate, where all important decisions were actually made in a rather speculative way (Raines, 1991, 137 sq.).

The "oligarchy", with such additional unofficial affiliation, also influenced the cover-up of all news and events that would challenge its special status. Pietro del Negro pointed out that after the end of the Second Morean War, "started a silence in Venetian historiography", underlining in particular the decision of 1719 to suspend work on the Annals, a collection of the most important documents, used by the "official historians" (Del Negro, 1998).[2] That is why the events of the Second Morea War are not covered by any official history. As Anastaisa Stouraiti pointed out, Pietro

1 Addison recorded 1,500 members around 1702 (Addison, 1767, 64).

2 Paper available on public domain, at www.treccani.it; this version lacks pagination.

Garzoni (1645–1735) was elected to the position of "state historian" on June 10, 1692 (Stouraiti, 2005, 248). Garzoni was a senator and a prominent public figure. In two volumes of the *History of Venice*, he described the events during the First Morean War (Garzoni, 1712) and the War of the Spanish Succession (Garzoni, 1719). However, the third volume of his *History of Venice,* supposed to cover the Second Morean War, never appeared. He was convinced that by writing about the events on Morea, he would arouse the anger of his fellow citizens (Del Negro, 1998). In that circumstance, the relations at the summit of the patriciate were also contained, as party struggles, their manifestations on the internal affairs of Venice, and the attitude of the patricians towards the provinces and subjects.

The patriciate tried at all costs to conceal its own responsibility for the loss of Morea. This leads to a re-examination of the decisions and specific abilities of the members of the patriciate who made the most important decisions, to adapt to the current moment. The political games, or rather machinations, on *Broglio,* led to the concentration of power in the circle of several most powerful and influential families, according to whose interests the other patricians gravitated. Therefore, this study would be justified, to point out the details and essence of the party struggle at the top of the patriciate during the crisis years of the Second Morean War, especcially since it is based on the exact and the impartial British sources. In order to focus on the person of Daniele IV Dolphin, war operations were deliberately ignored, although they were the subject of only scarce eighteenth-century Venetian histories (Ferrari, 1723; Diedo, 1751, IV). Only later research indicated the most significant moments in the conflict (Bernardy, 1902; Setton, 1997; Pinzelli, 2003).

DANIELE IV DOLFIN, BACKGROUND AND ASCENT

Daniele IV Dolfin was one of the most prominent figures during the Second Morean War, better known to contemporaries as Girolamo Dolfin. The Dolphin family was one of the 12 oldest patrician houses and emerged by separation from the Gradenigo family (Mantoan & Quaino, 2014, 175). "Dolfini di San Pantalon" stood out as a younger branch of the family in the fifteenth century, and were named after the parish and the church built in the ninth century, where their family house was built (Dolfin, 1924, 58–59). A member of the branch was Daniele IV Dolfin who took part in the battles for the conquest of Morea at the beginning of the First Morean War as *capitano ordinario delle navi*. He especially stood out during the conquest of Coron in 1685. By his merits he provided both the advancement in the army, and popularity with the fellow citizens. In the following years he participated in all operations that have made Venice win the biggest part of Morea. While fighting in the Morea, he married a certain lady from Euboea (Negroponte), but their son Pompeo was not recognized by the patricians as the legitimate family heir (Mantoan & Quaino, 2014, 182). Having gained fame in the Morea, he was appointed in 1692 to *Provveditore generale nella Dalmazia,* and kept this office until 1696. This is indicated by his report, was published thanks

to a team of collaborators gathered by Rita Tolomeo on the project *Stato da mar*. He sent the report to the Senate after the expiration of the duty of the general *provveditore* of Dalmatia. When he returned to Venice, in the Senate on March 17, 1697, he presented a detailed account of the situation in Dalmatia and suggested that certain measures be taken (ASVe, Collegio, Relazioni, b. 67).[3]

The conquest of Morea in 1685–1687 contributed to the strengthening of the reputation of the patricians. Francesco Morosini was given an honorary title *Il Peloponnesiaco*. The Senate sought to organize power in Morea, divided into four provinces. The process of consolidation of power was reconstructed by Gaetano Cozzi (Cozzi, 1985, 740–789), and lately also Alexis Malliaris (Malliaris 2004, 499–505; Μάλλιαρης, 2018, 247–269; Malliaris, 2007, 97–110). The Venetian military on Morea, and the successfull defense during the First Morean War were brought under the light in the doctoral dissertation by Erico Pinzelli (Pinzelli, 2003), with new perspectives on the events on the eve of the Ottoman attack of 1715.

"Hero of the Mytilene" took an active role in political life after the war. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), he was entrusted with certain duties in the defense of *Terraferma*. In August 1705, he was elected its general providor (Pinzelli, 2003, 464). When Austrian troops conquered Milan (1706), Daniele IV defended the Senate's decision to keep Venice neutral, according to him a wise choice so that Republic would not suffer any war damage (Pinzelli, 2003, 464). In order to stimulate the economy in the hinterland, Venice began demobilization in Terraferma, in 1711 (Pinzelli, 2003, 466). Daniele IV was however opposed, as intentions to take back Peloponnese grew in the Ottoman Empire, and offered ideas for the upcoming war operations (Centanni, 1998, 273).[4] Older Italian historians have discovered its unbridled nature, passion for gambling and uncontrolled outbursts (Dolfin, 1924, 171–176), but that did not diminish his influence. After all, his brother Daniele Giovanni III Dolphin (1654–1729) was appointed to ambassador in Poland in 1715, where he remained until 1717 (Setton, 1991, 423; Zorzi, 1982, 267–302; Ferrari, 1723, 34).[5]

And while Daniele IV Dolfin gained fame in his early years, over time his character has suppressed the wisdom of the mature age as he also experienced the Second Morean War. Daniele IV was elected again *Provveditore generale da Mar* in 1714 (Mantoan & Quaino, 2014, 190). British secretary Christian

---

3 Documentavailableonthepublicdomainhttp://www.statodamar.it/mare.php?ly=5&ar=3&rt=47&re=306&sid= transcription by Lia de Luca.

4 The cited Monice Centanni'e research indicated various aspects of his activities. Also in: Pedrocco, 1996, 43–50.

5 Hugh Broughton informed London about the election of Daniele III Dolfin, referring to him as "Cavalier Dolfin", noting that he should have asked the King of Poland for help, according to the 1699 Karlowitz peace contract (TNA SP 99/61, 20r). The same conclusion about this mission was given by Nani Mocenigo, who reffers him as Giovanni Dolfin; Nani Mocenigo, 1935, 316. He exclusively mentions his brother as Daniele Dolfin (Ibid., 317). The same occasion, Giovanni Dolfin was supposed to visit Vienna and become more familiar with Austrian attitudes (Diedo, 1751, IV, 78).

Cole (1673–1734) announced in mid-March to London that three new warships (Crowned Valour, The Vittoria Morea and Iris) were soon to sail for the Levant with the general Daniele IV (TNA SP 99/60, 229r). In late July 1714, Daniele IV "has took his leave in the Colledge, and will imbark on Sunday next for the Levant, when [h]e has auctority of Captain General given him" (TNA SP 99/60, 368r).[6] At that moment, Daniel IV became the most important figure in Venetian defense policy on the Levant. Reporting on the situation in Venice, Cole indirectly linked his election as commander-in-chief to rumors of a possible Ottoman fleet attack on the Italian coast (TNA SP 99/60, 368r).

DISGRACE

The years of Turkish occupation that had preceded the reconquest had reduced Morea to poverty and desolation. The rule of the Catholic Republic, instead of the Islamic Empire, did not contribute to the political favor of the local Greek Orthodox population. In a letter dated May 31, 1715, to the Secretary of State of the Southern Department James Stanhope (1673–1721) Hugh Broughton stressed the indisposition the Greeks towards the Venetian authorities on the Morea and the fact that the Venetians ordered all the inhabitants to withdraw to the four fortifications. These cities were not sufficiently supplied with weapons, provisions and ammunition, while the fleet took care of Corfu, Kefalonia and Zakynthos (TNA SP 99/61, 37r).

In British reports, Daniele IV is not mentioned during the first months of the war. Otherwise, the first document to point his activities was his letter from mid-March 1715 informing the Senate that he had prepared Morea for defense, and waiting succor (TNA SP 99/61, 24v). The press actually announced that he arrived in Modon, and was supposed to move to Corfu to be united with the rest of the fleet (AI, 1715, 53v). But there is a possibility that his name was used by the press in order to raise combat morale. Daniele IV actually remained fortified with the rest of the army at Modon (AI, 1715, 57v). In his *History of Venice* Giacomo Diedo paid tribute to his efforts. Daniele IV persistently pressed the Senate for ships, troops and supplies. He was fully aware of all the weaknesses of the Venetian defense of Morea and the islands (Diedo, 1751, IV, 82). His activities in strengthening the Venetian positions were also confirmed by the crew of the British ship "Fregatta", after meeting him in the waters near Zakynthos, where he had passed in the meanwhile (AI, 1715, 65v).[7] Daniele IV also assembled a War Council for a more efficient defense.

Kapudan Pasha Janım Hoca captured Tinos (June 5–6), followed by the offensive of the Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, who conquered Corinth (June 26–July 2),

6 On the significance of this position in the social order of Venice with more detail in: Casini, 2001, 219–270. Dolfin gave a speech in the Senate on that occasion: *La Via Lattea. Orazione in lode dell'Ill.mo et ecc.mo sig. Girolamo Dolfino cavalier provveditor generale in mare la seconda volta nel suo solenne ingresso fatto in Corfù l'anno 1714* (Cicogna, 1847, 412).

7 In a list he compiled to acquaint London with the strength of the Venetian fleet, Broughton cited "*Bastarda*" as a Dolfin's ship (TNA SP 99/61, 35v).

Nauplio (July 12–20), Modon (August 18) and Malvasia (September 7). With that, the Ottomans took over the entire Peloponnese. Surprised by the quick surrender, British ambassador with the Ottoman Porte, Robert Sutton (ambassador: 1701–1716/1718), stated that Venice had been working for the last five years to rebuild the fortifications "with great care & Expence... & had brought them to such perfection that they were esteemed by themselves impregnable" (TNA SP 97/23, 185r). He further pointed out that Daniele IV personally, with his presence, encouraged the garrisons to prepare for the defense.

Ships arriving in Venice brought news of catastrophic losses. They were published in the press with a delay and in a milder version, but despite that, the public got the impression that the most responsible culprits for the defeat at Morea were the military commanders (AI, 1716). In a letter dated August 23, Hugh Broughton, in addition to suspecting that Morea was lost, stated that the news of these events were kept in strict secrecy (TNA SP 99/61, f 49r). The loss of Nauplio, the most fortified Venetian position on the Morea, surprised contemporaries and opened the question of the command responsibility of Daniel IV. Sutton noted that before the Ottoman attack on the city, Daniel IV ordered 8 Dalmatian and 2 German regiments (Adelman & Diegher), with another two regular regiments, a total of 5000 soldiers, leave the defense to be deployed in the fleet. To defend Nafplio, he sent one regiment from Dalmatia and 4 others,[8] a total of 1700 to 1800 infantry. He promised to send as many more soldiers, but that reinforcement never arrived. The lack of grenadiers and artillery was especially felt, while ammunition and groceries were plentiful (TNA SP 97/23, 189r). Giacomo Diedo, who knew that Daniel IV had ordered the 8 navas and 11 galleys to withdraw from Nafplio, claimed that he had the permission of the Senate, in order to strengthen the fleet (Diedo, 1751, IV, 84). Regarding the loss of Nafplio, Diedo confirmed the beliefs in responsibility of Daniel IV, charged by the Senate to defend the city (Diedo, 1751, IV, 95).

While a possible failure to arm Nauplio revealed possible flaws, the struggle over Modon openly indicated responsibility of Daniel IV. While the battle for Nafplio was in progress, Daniel IV was anchored with the fleet at Zakynthos. When the Ottoman army besieged Modon, Daniel IV left Zakynthos and sailed with the fleet to Modon, from where he did not move (Ferrari, 1723, 58), and the Venetian fleet then escaped the catastrophe only thanks to the indecision of the kapudan-pasha Janım Hoca, who did not dare to attack swayed by the unfavorable wind (TNA SP 97/23, 197r).

But Daniele IV continued to perform his duty of *capitano generale*. Consultations were held, and was decided to withdraw the fleet further north, while *proveveditor straordinario* Fabio Bonvicini had to stay with large ships and provide assistance to endangered positions, and only Marco Loredan was against (Diedo, 1751, IV, 98). It was a decision to withdraw the majority of the fleet to the northern Aegean that raised doubts about the correctness of conducting operations, and led the Senate to decide to reconsider the responsibilities of the highest

8 The document mentioned: de la Sale, Tutu, Medin and one Italian.

commanders. Diedo stated that Daniele IV ordered the help to be delivered to Spinalongi, but it was not possible to carry out (Diedo, 1751, IV, 105).[9]

A useful addition to the official reports of British diplomacy was then offered by *The Historical Register*, with current events from all parts of the world, including Venice.[10] Considering the circumstances during 1716, *The Historical Register* points the position of Daniel IV, who suffered the condemnation of the commons, who blamed him for the failure, while, on the other hand, the same subjects could not understand real weaknesses of the Venetian army (*THR*, 1717, I, 28). It was the public outcry that prompted the Senate to cancel him "employment" (*THR*, 1717, I, 28) and thus deprive Daniel IV of the title of the commander in chief. British Resident in Venice Alexander Cunningham (1655–1737; resident: 1715–1719) did not hear nice opinions about Dolfin. "The [co]mmon people cry out against him and [he] has ruined the Malteze Gen[era]ll at [wa]y, they add this pasquerade, that if has miscarried, that it was neither [of] want of Horse nor foot, he having 40000 Cavali and 40000 fanti, in so [man]y packs of cards, which he carried w[it]h Him" (TNA SP 99/61, 88r). They considered him must responsible for the defeat, he became the object of ridicule of ordinary people, and his gambling vice was emphasized.

CRISIS OF POWER AND APPOINTMENT OF *CAPITANO GENERALE*

Based on November 8, 1715 letter from Hugh Broughton, it could be concluded that by that date Daniel IV had been removed from the duty of *capitano generale*, and chosen Francesco Grimani (TNA SP 99/61, 75r). In the following letter he is more specific about the circumstances, although he avoided mentioning Daniel IV:

> *But Sig*[nor] *Francesco Grimani, which was elected Captain Generall seems to refuse the Charge, untill in reality he sees a sufficient Army, and fleet of Shipps & Galleys wel manned. This is most likely to be effected, for all care is taken ther*[e] *about against next Spring. And the Republick is raysing money by Taxes, contriveing Lotterys, and selling all their land & houses to the best bidder. Also freeing banish'd People, Prissoners &c for money. But they will be very cautions to make New Patritij & Porcurators for Money, because the Moderne Nobillity are already too numerous for the antient familys & generally more rich (TNA SP 99/61, 77r).*

The fact that Francesco Grimani set a restrictive condition was a precedent that opened the crisis of power in the Republic. The legal provisions provided that a patrician elected to the Grand Chamber could refuse the assigned duty, but he was

9 The same was confirmed by the French contemporary Anthleme Tricaud (Tricaud, 1718, I, 238). Dolfin persisted in his decision to keep the Venetian fleet in northern positions (Diedo, 1751, IV, 107).

10 It is significant that the publisher was *Sun Fire Office*, a company that has provided insurance services since 1706. The company soon started publishing its own magazine, as the insurance market also depended on events from all over the world. In 1716, the company decided to publish quarterly reports instead of weekly newspapers (THR, 1717, I, i).

obliged to pay a fine of 2,000 ducats to the Treasury, and to be deprived of the right to attend the sessions of the Grand Council over the next two years. Grimani was aware of that. He therefore asked the Senate to increase the fee in order to accept the offered position.

Another important decision followed. At the end of November 1715 was published *Proclama* announcing an investigation among officials and officers related to the omissions on the Morea and in the fleet (TNA SP 99/60, 409v). According to British sources, the strongest blow was the loss of Nafplio, and that led to the investigation. Cunningham noted that "Napoli di Romani was well provided in evrie thig but men, the garrison consisting only of about 1100 [men]. B[e]side sev[e]ral officers are ill spoke of an[y] suspected of treacherie, w[hi]ch is to be inquir[ed] into" (TNA SP 99/61, 83v). To explain the opening of the investigation, he stated that the Venetian fleet was otherwise well equipped, but lost several favorable opportunities to gain advantage over the Ottoman fleet under the pretext that several Maltese ships did not join in time. The same statement indicates that the senators were most affected by the inactivity of the fleet (TNA SP 99/61, 83v). It was a direct accusation against Daniel IV.

The appointment of Francesco Grimani soon proved to be a bad solution. Overthrown by epileptic seizures, he resigned and immediately suspended military preparations. Tricaud noticed that Grimani belonged to the "second" category of nobility, as his family was enrolled in *Libro d'Oro* after the first closure (serrata) of the Grand Council Consiglio Maggior in 1297 (Tricaud, 1718, I, 247). After the first order sent to Daniele IV, to return to Venice immediately and submit a report (TNA SP 99/61, 88r), a new order soon set out, with orders to stay with the fleet at Corfu.

In a letter dated December 20, 1715, Cunningham notes "Sig[no]r Grimani latelie chosen Capt[ai]n Gen[eral]l was this week taken ill w[it]h Epileptick fits, a stop is put to his Equepage, and Orders are sent to Gen[eral]l Dolfino to stay at Corfu w[it]h the fleet, and tis generaly thought, t[ha]t he will be continued in his post" (TNA SP 99/61, 189r–189v). British sources reveal the crisis of patriciate, affecting the electoral system. On January 3, 1716, Cunningham noted that Michele Morosini (formerly sent to several diplomatic missions) had been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary, and was to visit several Italian courts and seek help (TNA SP 99/61, 91v). Two days later, on January 5, during the Sunday session of the Grand Council, Michele Morosini was elected the new Capitanio Generalle. Francesco Grimani retired to Padua "for his health" (TNA SP 99/61, 102r).

In Britain was also announced that the new captain general was the namesake and close relative of the famous Francesco Morosini from the previous war (MM, 1716, 17). After the election of Morosini, Daniele IV no longer had a reason to stay in Corfu. But Michele Morosini Jr., for reasons not disclosed to the public, immediately rejected his position after the election. "His exuses we found soe just, that the Senat, put noe fine upon him, and proceeded to chuse another in his room" (TNA SP 99/61,

107r).[11] The press in Britain, inclined to interpret the events at its own discretion, presented the repeated election to the highest position in the Venetian army as an affair at the top of the state. *Monthly Mercury* did not consider the withdrawal of Grimani and Morosini a mere coincidence. In this way, they tried to avoid public condemnation, if the Venetian army suffered another defeat. In the issue for January 1716, it was stated

> *...but many are of Opinion, that they made Use of it as of a specious Pretence to decline a Command, wherein they foresaw they would suffer in their Honours and reputation, as Signior Delphino has done. No doubt but the latter is a brave Man, and an experienced General; but yet he layes under the Censure of the People, who being ignorant of the true Condition of the Forces of the Republick, lay the Blame of the Loss of Morea at his Door* (MM, t. XXVII, 1716, p. 17).

Andrea Pisani was elected *Provveditor Generale Inquisitore al Isole* (Diedo, 1751, IV, 85). In the midst of the election crisis, he is already mentioned as one of the candidates for a higher position in the army. Thus in a letter dated January 7, 1716, Cunningham noted:

> *The ballot fell on Sig*[no]*r Pisani, who is on Corfu, presently after this election, advice was sent to him and his ansver is imatiently expected. It is thought His Ex*[e]*l*[len]*ce will not accept. In that case, the Senate will return to make a new Election, wh*[ic]*h is thought will fall upon Sig*[no]*re Molinos, who far age and infirmitys is no able to stir out of his Chamber and after all, it is thought Gen*[era]ll *Dolfino will be ordered to command in that post this year, notwithstanding of all the outery that was made against his conduct the last Camp[aig]ne* (TNA SP 99/61, 107r).

On January 13, the Grand Council voted for the new Commander-in-Chief, Andrea Pisani. A special commission was appointed to inform him of the election (MM, t. XXVII, 1716, p. 17). And that's what happened. At the end of February 1716, Andrea Pisani informed the Senate that he must reject the position and Daniele IV remained the commander-in-chief until further notice (TNA SP 99/61, 133v).[12] In early March, Senate still failed to resolve the issue of the commander-in-chief (TNA SP 99/61, 135r). Suddenly, Andrea Pisani changed his mind and accepted the position of commander-in-chief on March 15 (TNA SP 99/61, 154v).

Senator Diedo, who published his *History of Venice* three decades later, almost kept silent about the election for *Capitano Generale*. The period between the Dolfin's dismissal until the appointment of Andrea Pisani, Diedo sublimated only in a few

11 Almost the same version was offered by a French contemporary Tricaud (Tricaud, 1718, I, 255).

12 Marshal Schulenburg, in the meanwhile, visited Corfu, Zakynthos and Kefalonia, and returned to Dalmatia to establish defense (TNA SP, 99/61, 133v).

lines, while trying to cover up the crisis of the system. Diedo kept silent about the elections that burdened the Grand Council from the end of 1715 to the middle of March 1716, when Andrea Pisani finally accepted the highest position in the army (Diedo, 1751, IV, 117–118). Presumably, Diedo did this not to defend the interests of Daniele IV and his supporters, but to cover up the powerlessness of the government and oligarchy he also belonged to. Girolamo Ferrari in his History also withheld the Commander-in-Chief election, only stating that Daniele Girolamo was succeeded by Antonio Pisani (Ferrari, 1723, 101, 339).

ELECTION FOR THE SAINT MARK'S PROSECUTOR

In mid-April 1716, Daniele IV was expected to return to Venice (TNA SP 99/61, 157v). A letter from Corfu reported that he boarded the ship *Rosa Moceniga*, leaving the fleet in good condition under the command of Pisani (TNA SP 99/61, 166r). A letter from Venice dated April 18, 1716, published by *The Monthly Mercury*, claims that Daniele IV arrived in Venice the day before. It is further stated in that document "...and after he has made a Report to the Senate of the Condition of our Forces both by Sea nad Land, and of the Transactions of the last Campaign, 'tis hoped we shall know the true Cause of the ill Success thereof, and particular the Reasons whay Napoli di Romania, and other Fortresses in Morea, made little or no Resistance, and how that fine Country was so easily conquered by the Turks" (MM, t. XXVII, pp. 158–159)

Daniele IV left quarantine on May 20 and appeared in Venice (Tricaud, 1718, I, 274). The Senate was convened to discuss his acting in Morea. In his defense, Daniele IV stated that the help was not delivered on time (Tricaud, 1718, I, 275). In the mid May 1716 "…after long debates on Gen[era]l Dolfinos conduct last camp[ai]gn, it was approven in Pregadi by ballot and more than two thirds wer[e] for him" (TNA SP 99/61, 174r). That is how he escaped the trial. It was rumored that after the vote he would be sent back to Corfu to command the army and navy together with Pisani "in quality of Providitore Gen[era]l or some such Name" (TNA SP 99/61, 176r). The limited choice that the government faced (TNA SP 99/61, 176r–176v), as well as the power that the family had in society, really led to that compromise.

At the end of June 1716 Daniele IV appeared before his fellow citizens in a large procession accompanied by many friends as a procurator of St. Mark (TNA SP 99/61, 197v). From the beginning of the war until that moment, several patricians were elected procurator. In accordance with the constitutional structure, the position of the procurator was just below the doge's. The procurator could not participate in the session of the Grand Council, but enjoyed lifelong participation in the Senate. Its holder only could not run for the position of doge. About a month or two passed from the elections to the Grand Chamber, to the solemn entry into the city in the clothes of the procurator. Some of the elected procurators, since they were under penalty (in bando), could not organize a solemn procession. In the case of Daniel

IV, British sources do not state the moment when he was elected procurator, but only the ceremony he organized that occasion at the end of June 1716. As the ban on communication with foreign representatives has been tightened, it is possible that this information remained unknown to Cunningham. It is most probable that the election of Daniel IV was kept secret so as not to provoke the subjects, who considered him personally accountable for the loss of Morea.

The purchase of the title of procurator, after he was acquitted of all charges, was justified from the aspect of its public demonstration. He also ordered that the speech he gave when entering the Procuratria should be printed and distributed, wishing to suppress a bad impression in public. The speech was printed "con licenza de'superiori", indicating that he has not yet lost the support of the oligarchy. With the speech he addressed Venetian patricians as the social and political basis of the existing order. He began by saying that the Consiglio (Grand Council) and the army were the two pillars of Venice, the first in charge of its glory and the second of its strength, *fermezza* (Orazione, 1716, 3). He purposefully tried to make up for his failures on the Morea with successes in Dalmatia as he stated that the investigation of the failures in the Morea determined the minimum of his responsibility (Orazione, 1716, 6). After that, Daniele IV returned to Corfu and took part in the battles for the island.

CORFU DEFENSE: THE PEAK OF THE DOLFIN VS. PISANI STRUGGLE

The single significant stronghold on the Levant remained Corfu. The island was the most important Venetian base towards the Levant, where the bulk of its fleet was stationed. On July 5, 1716, the Ottoman fleet escaped the Venetian fleet and entered the Corfu Canal (Pinzelli, 2003, 500). In the first attack, the Ottomans were repulsed in an attempt to disembark (July 5–8). Diedo mentions his participation in the fighting in the Corfu Channel, when he "con qualche altra Nave, che preso postro tra i Legni Veneti, e gli Ottomani..." (Diedo, 1751, IV, 129). The fighting continued after that, and on July 19, the landing of Ottoman forces on the island began. The attackers threatened the city of Corfu itself. The Venetians still managed to defend the city with the support of their Greek subjects. Simultaneously, on August 5 the Austrian army of Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated Grand Vizier Damat Ali Pasha and the Ottomans at Petrovaradin. The news reached the Ottoman camp near Corfu in the night between August 20 and 21, following a terrible storm that probably also saved the island. The Ottoman withdrawal place between 22 and 25 August (TNA SP 99/61, 229r).

It is indisputable that Corfu was preserved for Venice by the decision of Charles VI (1711–1740) to conclude the Holy League with Venice and the Pope against the Ottoman Empire, and that the defeat of the Ottoman army under Petrovaradin contributed to the Ottoman withrawal. The Ottomans, however, were primarily wary of bad weather. All these facts are ignored by British sources, in the first place Alexander Cunningham's reports are partially ignored, emphasizing in the first place military skills of Marshal

Matthias Johann von der Schulenburg (1661–1747).[13] He had spent much of the winter improving the fortifications. As pointed in a British source "all agree t[ha]t the Repub[li]ck owns Corfu to the wise conduct and braverie of Gen[era]l Sculenburgh, and noe doubt, but all Italia is infinitly obliged to him, but they begin alreddy to give the Glorie of it to the Blessed Virgin and some unknown Saint" (TNA SP 99/61, 233v).[14] An unpleasant circumstance occurred for the patricians. Although Venice used foreign mercenaries, the commanding position belonged exclusively to the patricians, who based their influence in politics and society on their merits in the warfare (a classic example was Fracesco Morosini during the First Morean War). Since Venice had weak infantry, the title *generale dal sbarco*, already created, was assigned to Schulemburg. Thus, in the defense of Corfu, all the glory and gratitude went to him. The Venetian command staff went unnoticed, and this was also case with Pisani as with Daniel IV.[15]

The defense of Corfu ended a series of defeats and raised the spirits, but also intensified the conflict between the supporters of Pisani and Dolfin. The fact that the Venetian fleet set out in search of the Ottomans on August 27, but returned to Corfu the very next day, Cunningham explained by the same hostility of their clans (TNA SP 99/61, 229v; 233v). Although neither Anrea Pisani nor Daniele IV Dolfin excelled in defending Corfu, this did not prevent their supporters from deepening the conflict, especially on the issue of conducting war operations (TNA SP 99/61, 229v). The British contemporary was explicit in claiming that there was a huge hatred between the Pisani and clans, but he still remained basically restrained, stating that there was a custom for the commander-in-chief to report to the Senate regularly with reports on his actions, presenting his own assessments. That is why Cunningham decided to wait for the arrival of the first British ship with news, more inclined to trust British than Venetian sources (TNA SP 99/61, 233v).

13 At the end of 1714, Venice decided to hire Baron Johann Matthias von der Schulenburg in rank of *Generale del sbarco* if the Ottoman army attacks Morea (TNA SP 99/60, 405r). *Generale del sbarco* was the title given to the Senate awarding the most prestigious of foreign generals engaged during the war in the Venetian service. Schulenburg had a long military service and not only distinguished himself as a commander, but also as a diplomat. In his early age he left his native Emden, not far from Magdeburg (Margravate of Brandenburg), for France, where he studied maths from 1680 at a Huguenot university in Saumur. He then entered the civil administration of Brunswick–Wolfenbüttel, but he soon left that position, opting in favor of military career. He fought in Hungary 1687–1688. Then he was in a diplomatic mission in service of Duke of Brunswick (Killy, 2005, 187). During the War of the Spanish Succession he managed to gain respect of the Prince Eugene of Savoy, although he fought on the opposite side. Until 1711 he remained in the service of the Saxon elector Frederick Augustus I (1670–1733), then he was also with the King of Poland (1697–1706). In the Great Northern War (1700–1721) he fought against the Swedish King Charles XII (1697–1718), gaining fame. But he failed to join the Austrian army of Charles VI. This was opposed by Eugene of Savoy himself (Killy, 2005, 187). The Senate hired him at the end of 1714, but he did not arrive in Venice until December 13 1715 (TNA SP 99/61, 77r).

14 In September, the Senate decided to reward Schulenburg with a diamond-studded golden sword and an annual salary of 1,000 *pistoles.* French currency. The press also covered the event, alleging that Schulenburg received an annual salary of 5,000 ducats (*AI*, 1717, 11r.) The very next day, the Grand Chamber decided to erect his statue on Corfu (Ibid., 235r). Inspired by the victories of Schulenburg Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) composed in his honor oratorium *Judita* (Killy, 2005, 187).

15 "In all this siedge non distinguished themselves, like Gen[era]l Sculenburgh and the Adm[ira]l of the Turks, the one for the brave defence made, t[h]e other for the retreat" (TNA SP 99/61, 229v).

Schulenburg arrived in Venice only on December 5.[16] He's praise bothered patricians and their political factions. Families that were giving cavaliers, procurators, doges for centuries, recognized a danger in strengthening his reputation. When he appeared in the Doge's Palace, he did not meet a sufficient number of senators, so Senate session could not be held (TNA SP 99/61, 297r). Disputes also arose over the reception ceremony. In public, rumors were spread about "all profits that the Gen[era]l has enjoyed last year, w[hic]h they make amount to 300000 Florins Germ[ans]" (TNA SP 99/61, 297r), to be discredited among ordinary people. To one of those who spread the rumors, Cunningham sharply replied: "He saved Corfou, consequently Venise[17] and all the Italie. And if he had been imployed sooner He might have preserved t[h]e Morea, w[hic]h non of them could doe[18] t[h]e year before" (TNA SP 99/61, 297v).

GAMBLING AND RETREAT

Daniel IV Dolfin and Schulenburg returned to Venice at the same time (report of January 1, 1717). Daniele IV was in need of a new position in the military also because he sunk in gambling debts (TNA SP 99/61, 283v). It is possible that Daniel IV, through his supporters, had a share in creating the opposition against Schulenburg. Political struggles were also important in the perspective of an immediate priority to raise a new fleet. Cunningham noticed that Schulenburg enjoys sympathies of ordinary people (TNA SP 99/61, 307r). A significant number of senators considered Schulenburg indispensable. It was assumed that the Ottomans would launch an offensive in Hungary, while Dalmatia could be attacked from land and sea, and Venice was not ready for defense (TNA SP 99/61, 307r–307v). That is how Schulenburg became even more important.

Daniele IV Dolfin knew how to manipulate the public while his clique seemed in retreat and Schulenburg's popularity growing. As the press reported (news from Venice from January 23, 1717) "*Capitano Generale Girolamo*" paid 25,000 ducats "*to fight the common enemy*." The press brought this news as related to the election of Andrea Cornaro to the post of procurator (AI, 1717, 19v). Since the election of a procurator cost just that much, Daniele IV most likely thought that with this voluntary gesture he would persuade the Grand Council to elect him to one of the commanding positions in

16 Leaving Corfu, Schulenburg ordered the fortification of Santa Maura (TNA SP 99/61, 264r). On his way back to Venice, he informed the Pope about the new cult of St. Spyridon, and that alleged contribution which to the defense of Corfu (TNA SP 99/61, 265v). The next day, he was visited by a delegation of senators with congratulatory greetings. Cunningham visited him on the same occasion and offered a stay at the British Palace, thus repeating the offer made the previous year by King George I (TNA SP 99/61, 273r–273v). Schulenburg apologized for not getting Senate permission to communicate with officials from other states (TNA SP 99/61, 275v; 283v). After enduring quarantine, he appeared in the city in January 1717 and was solemnly presented with a valuable saber (TNA SP 99/61, 286r). One of the most eminent sculptors of the time Francesco Cabianca (1665–1737) finished his statue (*AI*, 1717, 3v).

17 Cunningham uses the French form, instead of the English "Venice". By the way, he corresponded with state secretaries in English as well as in French.

18 To be read "*do*". Version "*doe*" is common in Cunningham's correspondence.

the army. In early February, the Senate elected Andrea Dolfin *Padrone delle Navi*. Until then, he had served as one of six *governatori straordinarii delle Navi* (AI, 1717, 27r).

By early February 1717, it became known that Daniel IV had gambled a lot of money, he was unemployed, and had lost all influence over *Broglio* (TNA SP 99/61, 307r). Simultaneously, Schulemburg was gaining public support, and the Andrea Pisani achieved influence in the army and navy. A recent study states that Daniel IV was first elected *provveditore dei Fortezze* and then for ambassador to Poland (Mantoan & Quaino, 2014, 191). Cunningham, however, did not mention either of the two appointments. The election to the position of ambassador of a man who until then excelled in military skills and was not engaged in diplomatic missions reveals that the Dolphin family managed to secure the position of Daniel IV in order to remove him from Venice, even for a short period.

Subsequently in the Cunnigham reports relations on Daniel IV cease, as attention shifted to the rise of Andrea Pisani and his supporters (Setton, 1991, 445). Indecisive naval battles in the summer of 1717 contributed to the impressions of seemingly undefeated Pisani, while the public had to be assured of the Venetian fleet leverage. Cunningham was aware of that, too. He was particularly angered by the public sentiments, as the press attributed the conquest of Vonitsa (the south coast of the Ambracian gulf near Lefkada) to Pisani, while Cunningham considered that the most deserving was Schulemburg (TNA SP 99/61, 423r–423v). The culmination of Pisani's influence was the proposal made at the end of November 1717 to be elected a knight of St. Mark "which passed w[it]h much opposition in the Pregadi" (TNA SP 99/61, 427v). It seems that neither of the two conflicting currents managed to take the key advantage.

At the end of March, an order was sent by Andrea Dolfin, who commanded the *nava Padrone*, and also the commander of the convoy leaving the port, to move towards the main corps of the Venetian fleet (AI, 1717, 56v).[19]

Daniele IV Dolfin became the subject of gossip again in the summer of 1718 after an incident briefly, concisely and condemningly described by Cunningham in a report of 24 June: "Sig[no]r Dolfino, who fired a pistol on Sig[no]r Favangrolo,

19 The Senate sent an order to Dolfin on April 6 to board the convoy equipped for Morea with other commanders (Trincaud, 1718, II, 394–395). In early May "*noble Delfino*" arrived in Corfu with 10 ships (Trincaud, 1718, II, 401). Dolfin was given the task of supervising, from 2 ships, the fleet that was gathering in Bay of Cattaro (Trincaud, 1718, II, 411, ref. *a*). Mario Nani Mocenigo mentioned Dolfin's participation in the battles during the summer of 1717 against the Ottoman fleet. Dolfin stood out on June 16 near the island of Strati when he prevented the capture of the nava with the commander Ludovico Flangini (Nani Mocenigo, 1935, 334–335). Diedo in *History of Venice* mentions the participation of one of the Dolfins in the circumstances when the Venetian fleet was anchored in the port Passavà, and the Ottoman in Corinth. He further stated: "*ma ritrovandosi l'Almirante di Daniele Delfino troppo vicina al nemico fu dato principio alla battaglia...*" (Diedo, 1751, IV, 144). However, the press, while closely following the events, did not mention the participation of any member of the Dolphin family in clashes on June 12 near Imbros, on June 13 near S. Stratto, and on June 16 near Monte Santo (*AI*, 1717, 125r–125v). On July 20, 1717, the Grand Council elected Marc Antonio Diedo after the perished Flangini, while Corero was elected to the position of *Capitaine ordinarie*, instead of Dolphin (Tricaud, 1718, II, 438). At the same time, fighting was taking place at Cape Matapan, and Pisani sailed with the fleet for Cerigo (Diedo, 1751, IV, 145). In the battles for Vojnitza in October 1717, Diedo did not mention the participation of Daniel IV Dolphin (Diedo, 1751, IV, 147–148).

and wounded him in t[h]e arm, is fled from justice, and banished by Senate, and it is said He is to goe to Peru" (TNA SP 99/62, 73r). The reason for the attack on the mentioned Favangrolo is difficult to determine, although it can be assumed that he pulled the gun because of gambling debts or a love affair. It is almost certain that that the report referred to Daniel IV, since his cousin Antonio Dolfin was engaged in operations in the Aegean at the time. Cunningham stated on September 26, 1718: "Sig[no]re Delfino is to succeed Sig[no]re Diedo who was killed in t[h]e last bat[t]le" (TNA SP 99/62, 115r–115v). The press also announced that Andrea Dolfin had been appointed to that position (AI, 1718, 163r). From the way the report was formulated in the press, it is very likely that Cunningham only copied the news. According to the previously mentioned genealogy, Daniel IV Andrea Dolfin (1689–?) was listed as the son of Daniele III Dolfin (Mantoan & Quaino, 2014, 180). Diedo in his *History of Venice* mentioned the death of Ludovico Diedo, who was mourned for his courage and merits, but not that any member of the Dolphin family was then appointed to his post (Diedo, 1751, IV, 163–164). He also withheld their participation in the battles for Dulcigno.

EPILOGUE (INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION)

The Passarowitz peace treaty was signed on July 21, 1718, between the Ottoman Empire on one side and Austria and the Republic of Venice on the other. Two days after the signing of the treaty, Venice attacked Dulcigno. The siege lasted until August 11, when the Venetian forces withdrew (Stanojević, 1970, 456). Remaining under Ottoman rule, Dulcigno continued to serve as the most important stronghold of pirates in the southern Adriatic. Venetian ships suffered the most from pirate attacks, but sometimes even merchant ships belonging to "nations" that enjoyed good relations with the Ottoman government were their prey (Kocić & Samardžić, 2019). With the Passarowitz peace treaty Venice had to be content with Cythera, Butrinto, Preveza and Vonitsa, and a few additional frontier fortresses in Dalmatia (Imotski). According to the 1699 peace agreement, Venice was also obliged to allow free Ottoman communications with Ragusa (Dubrovnik). Venice held the borders established in 1718 unchanged until the end of the Republic.[20] The Treaty of Passarowitz confirmed the long-standing stagnation. Venice was already withdrowing from active politics in Italy during the second half of the seventeeth century (Samardžić, 2011, 24).

Andrea Pisani's last action was the attack on Ulcinj, or Dulcigno (Nani Mocenigo, 1935, 349). Then there was peace, and everything was returning to normal life. However, on the night of september 21, a warehouse with 3,000 barrels of

20 After the conclusion of Passarowitz peace in 1718, Schulenburg stayed for a while in Corfu (TNA SP 99/62, 109r). He returned to Venice in September. The Senate, pleased with his successes, decided to renew his contract at the end of the year (Ibid, 195r). Schulenburg remained in the service of Venice until his death in 1747 (Setton, 1991, 444).

gunpowder exploded in the city of Corfu. Andrea Pisani was also killed, as his palace was also hit (Nani Mocenigo, 1935, 350; AI, 1719, p. 6v). Mass in his honor was served on January 11, 1719 in the church of *BB Vegine* (AI, 1719, p. 16r). At the beginning of February, a coffin with his body arrived in Venice, and in a public procession numerous patricians and citizens took part (AI, 1719, p. 29v).

The glory acquired in the First Morean War the Venetian oligarchy could not use in the Second Morean War. Venice was weakened by neutrality, system inefficiency and inert decision-making as the conflicting clans in the patrician monopolized state foreign and domestic policy. Fortunate were the decisions to engage a German general Schulenburg, and to enter into an alliance with Austria and the pope in 1716. Daniel IV Dolfin appears in British reports both as a person with a significant function in the army, and as a paradigm of regression of the elite, institutions and system. Venetian "official" historians of the era, avoided mentioning the details that revealed the depth and essence of the crisis. Daniel IV's myth originated precisely in the official Venetian chronicles and their bias in relation to the oligarchy. The nobility was suffering an identity crisis, while, regardless of the current that would prevail in the Senate or the Grand Council, the whole nobility had as a common goal the preservation of the existing order. On the other side, ordinary subjects, as the majority of the population, were kept away from the executive and the legislature, although the crisis of power began to suggest the existence of a "public opinion", and the emerging press was contributing, along with narratives and gossips, to its formation. British sources gave more precise insights into the state and changes of Venetian institutions, than domestic sources.

The struggle for supremacy in the patriciate did not end with the fall of Daniel IV and the death of Pisani. The period from 1719 to 1723 was marked by the struggle of two clans. One of them was led by Lorenzo Tiepolo, procurator and representative of *primi signori*, the oligarchy. The leader of the second clan was Giovanni Emo, brother of Angelo Emo, with the support of patricians of middle and lower wealth. (Del Negro, 1997). The rivalry between the two clans marked the political life of Venice during the next two decades. Fifteen influential patricians also participated in political life (Hunecke, 1991, 144).

In the whirlwind of conflicts between the clans, the memory of Morea did not disappear in vain. Charles de Montesquieu, who visited Venice in 1728, noticed among its inhabitants a desire to return to Nafplio and Malvasia. (Montesquieu, 1894, I, 21–22). He noticed that the loss of Morea mostly affected the patricians of lower financial status, who could gain income by gaining administrative positions in that province (Montesquieu, 1894, I, 57).

Finally, some members of the Dolphin family survived the fall of Daniel IV. This primarily refers to the son of Daniel III Dolphin, also named Daniel (1688-1734), who joined the church and for a time, slightly before his death, served as a bishop in Udine (Preto, 1991).

BRITANSKI VIRI O KRIZI BENEŠKEGA PATRICIATA V ČASU DRUGE MOREJSKE VOJNE: PRIMER DANIELEJA IV. DOLFINA

Marija V. KOCIĆ
Univerza v Beogradu, Filozofska fakulteta, Čika Ljubina 18–20, 11000 Beograd, Srbija
e-mail: marija.kocic@f.bg.ac.rs

Nikola R. SAMARDŽIĆ
Univerza v Beogradu, Filozofska fakulteta, Čika Ljubina 18–20, 11000 Beograd, Srbija
e-mail: nsamardzic@f.bg.ac.rs

POVZETEK

V pričujoči študiji avtorja skušata na metodološko ustrezen način pokazati na spremembe v beneškem patriciatu, do katerih je prišlo v obdobju konflikta, znanega kot druga morejska vojna. V središču njunega raziskovanja so uradna poročila britanskih predstavnikov v tem mestu, ki so do leta 1716 delovali na položaju sekretarja, od takrat naprej pa tudi na položaju rezidenta (diplomatskega predstavnika, za stopnjo nižjega od poslanika). Avtorja skušata tako razmere v patriciatu kot tudi konflikt med političnimi strujami prikazati na primeru delovanja Danieleja IV. Dolfina. Vzpon in padec slednjega preučujeta skozi dogodke, povezane z osvajanjem in izgubo Moreje [Peloponeza]. Turška zasedba Moreje leta 1715 je v Benetkah ustvarila negativno ozračje, zaradi česar je postalo nujno poiskati primernega krivca za vojni debakel. Smotrnost svoje raziskave avtorja utemeljujeta tudi z izsledki sodobnega italijanskega zgodovinopisja, ki je na področju raziskovanja razmer v patriciatu na podlagi beneških virov močno napredovalo. Posebej analizirata krizo uradnega zgodovinopisja, za katerega menita, da je namerno in načrtno zamolčalo tako medstrankarske razprtije kot tudi spor v zvezi z izvolitvijo vrhovnega poveljnika vojne mornarice (capitano generale). Odnosi med najpomembnejšimi akterji dogajanja zrcalijo krizo institucij in kažejo na zastarelo, disfunkcionalno družbeno strukturo. Obramba Moreje in ostalih posesti na Levantu, za katero si je beneška oblast resno prizadevala v letih pred vojno, je bila v napadu turške vojske uničena v pičlih nekaj tednih. Zato so konec leta 1715, da bi vsaj malo pomirili nezadovoljno javnost, v beneškem senatu sprožili več sodnih procesov, v katerih je bil eden izmed obtoženih tudi Daniele IV. Dolfin. Problem, ki je bil s tem načet, pa so v pravo luč postavile volitve za položaj vrhovnega poveljnika (capitano generale). Britanska poročila, na katera se sklicujeta avtorja, razkrivajo pomembne vidike njegovega ravnanja, ki so jih Hugh Broughton (konzul), Christian Cole (sekretar) in Alexander Cunningham (rezident) opisali nedvoumno in natančno. Avtorja primerjata naracije različnih zgodovinskih virov in hkrati pojasnjujeta tudi posamezne dogodke iz življenja Danieleja IV. Dolfina, o katerih uradno beneško zgodovinopisje namenoma molči.

Ključne besede: Benetke, Daniele IV. Dolfin, Andrea Pisani, oligarhija, patriciat, Moreja, Krf

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Addison, Joseph (1767): Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703. London, J. and R. Tonson.

AI (1715): Avvisi Italiani, ordinarii e straordinarri, dell'anno 1715. Vienna, Appresso Gio. van Ghelen.

AI (1716): Avvisi Italiani, ordinarii e straordinarri, dell'anno 1716. Vienna, Appresso Gio. van Ghelen.

AI (1717): Avvisi Italiani, ordinarii e straordinarri, dell'anno 1717. Vienna, Appresso Gio. van Ghelen.

AI (1718): Avvisi Italiani, ordinarii e straordinarri, dell'anno 1718. Vienna, Appresso Gio. van Ghelen.

AI (1719): Avvisi Italiani, ordinarii e straordinarri, dell'anno 1719. Vienna, Appresso Gio. van Ghelen.

ASVe: Collegio, Relazioni, b. 67: Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Relazioni, busta 67.

Document is available on the publick domain: http://www.statodamar.it/mare.php?ly=5&ar=3&rt=47&re=306&sid= (last access: 2022-06-20).

Bernardy, Amy (1902): L'Ultima guerra turco-veneziana (MDCCXIV–MDCCXVIII). Firenza, Stab. Tip. G. Civelli.

Casini, Matteo (2001): Immagini dei capitani generali "da Mar" a Venezia in età barocca. In: Fantoni, Marcello (ed.): Il "Perfetto Capitano". Immagini e significati del "capitano" fra Cinque e Seicento. Rome, Bulzoni, 219–270.

Centanni, Monica (1998): „Guerra e morte fraterna: Il mito storico romano nelle tele di Giovambattista Tiepolo per i Dolfin". In: Lionello, Puppi (ed.): Giambattista Tiepolo nel terzo centenario della nascita. Padova, Il Poligrafo, 267–275.

Cicogna, Emmanuele Antonio (1847): Saggio di bibliografia veneziana. Venezia, Dalla Tipografia di G. B. Merlo.

Cozzi, Gaetano (1985): La Repubblica di Venezia in Morea: un diritto per il nuovo Regno (1687–1715). In: Ajello, Raffaele, Firpo, Massimo, Guerci, Luciano & Giuseppe Ricuperati (eds.): L'eta dei lumi. Studi storici sul Settecento europeo in onore di FrancoVenturi, vol. I–II. Naples, Jovene, II, 740–789.

Del Negro, Piero (1984a): Forme e istituzioni del discorso politico veneziano. In: Arnaldi Girolamo & Pastore M. Stocchi (eds.): Storia della Cultura veneta, vol. IV, t. 2: Il Seicento. Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 407–436.

Del Negro, Piero (1984b): La distribuzione del potere all'interno del patriziato veneziano nel Settecento. In: Tagliaferri, Amelio (ed.): I ceti dirigenti in Italia in età moderna e contemporanea. Atti del Convegno Cividale del Friuli, 10–12 settembre 1983. Udine, Del Bianco editore, 311–337.

Del Negro, Piero (1998): L'ultima fase della Serenissima: nota introduttiva. In: Del Negro, Piero & Preto, Paolo (eds.): L'ultima fase della Serenissima, [ed.] Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, vol. VIII. Roma, Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.

Diedo, Giacomo (1751): Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dalla sua Fondazione Sino l'Anno MDCCXLVII, vol. I–IV. Venezia, Nella Stamperia di Andrea Poletti.

Dolfin, Bortolo Giovanni (1924): I Dolfin (Delfino) Patrizii Veneziani nella storia di Venezia dall'anno 452 al 1923. Milano, Parenti.

Eglin, John (2001): Venice transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660–1797. New York, Palgrave.

Ferrari, Girolamo (1723): Delle Notizie Storiche della Lega tra l'Imperatore Carlo VI e la Republica di Venezia Contra il Gran Sultano Acmet III e de'loro fatti d'armi dall'anno 1714 sino alla Pace di Passarowitz. Venezia, Presso Carlo Buonarrigo.

Garzoni, Pietro (1712): Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega Contra Maometto IV., e tre suoi Successori, Gran Sultani de' Turchi. Venezia, Apresso Gio: Manfrè.

Garzoni, Pietro (1719): Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia, Ove insieme narrasi la Guerra per la Successione delle Spagne al Re Carlo II. Venezia, Appresso Gio: Manfrè.

Hunecke, Volker (1991): Matrimonio e demografia del patriziato veneziano (secc. XVII–XVIII). Studi Veneziani, 21, 269–319.

Hunecke, Volker (1997): Il patriziato veneziano alla fine della Repubblica. 1646–1797. Demografia, famiglia, ménage. Roma, Jouvence.

Hunecke, Volker (1998): Il corpo aristocratico. In: Del Negro, Piero & Paolo, Preto (eds.): L'ultima fase della Serenissima, Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, vol. VIII, 359–429. Roma, Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.

Hunecke, Volker (1999): I Savi Grandi – Gli Oligarchi di Venezia? Acta Histriae, 7, 141– 152.

Killy, Walther (ed.) (2005): Dictionary of German Biography, vol. 9: Schmidt – Theyer. München, K. G. Saur.

Kocić, Marija (2018): Britansko-mletački odnosi u doba Drugog morejskog rata (1714. – 1718.). Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru, 60, 147–166.

Kocić, Marija V. & Nikola R. Samardžić (2019): Dve strane jednog napada: otmica britanskog trgovačkog broda Adventure 1718. godine. Annales, Series historia et sociologia, 29, 2, 293–302.

Mantoan, Diego & Otello Quaino (2014): I Dolfin e la loro dimora veneziana: Vicende attorno a una nobile famiglia e al palazzo di San Pantalon. In: Mantoan, Diego & Otello Quaino (eds.): Ca'Dolfin e i Cadolfiniani. Storia di un collegio universitario a Venezia. Venezia, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 173–205.

Megna, Laura (1997): Grandezza e miseria della nobiltà veneziana". In: Benzoni, Gino & Gaetano Cozzi (eds.): La Venezia barocca, Storia di Venezia dalla origine alla caduta della Serenissima, vol. VII. Roma, Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 161–200.

Malliaris, Alexis (2004): La mobilizzazione della terra in un paese di nuova conquista: lo stato fondiario nel Peloponneso veneziano agli inizi del XVIII secolo. In: Cavaciocchi, Simonetta (ed.): Il mercato della terra secc. XIII–XVIII. Atti della "Trentacinquesima Settimana di Studi" 5–9 maggio 2003. Prato, Le Monnier, 499–505.

Malliaris, Alexis (2007): Population Exchange and Integration of Immigrant Comunities in the Venetian Morea, 1687–1715. In: Davies, Siriol & Jack L. Davies (eds.): Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece. Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 97–110.

Μάλλιαρης, Αλέξης (2018): Ο κόσμος της υπαίθρου στη βενετική Πελοπόννησο (1686–1715) [Il mondo dei contadini nel Peloponneso durante il dominio veneziano (1686–1715)]. In: Lambrinos, Kostas (ed.): Società rurali nell'Oriente greco-veneziano (sec. XIII–XVIII). Atene, Accademia di Atene Centro di Ricerche medievali e neoelleniche, 247–269.

MM (1716): The Present State of Europe: or The Historical and Political Monthly Mercury, Givin an Account of all the Publick and Private Occurrences, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military, that are most Considerable in Every Court: The Interest of Princes, their Pretension, and Intrigues, &c., vol. XXVII. London, Printed for Henry Rhodes at the Star.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat (de) (1894): Voyage, vol. I–II. Paris, Bordeaux, Alphonse Picard & fils, G. Gounouilhou, Imprimeur-éditeur.

Nani Mocenigo, Mario (1935): Storia della marina veneziana: da Lepanto alla caduta della Repubblica. Roma, Tipo lit. Ministero della Marina – Uff. Gabinetto.

Pedrocco, Filippo (1996): Appunti per una storia del mecenatismo artistico della famiglia Dolfin. In: Ganzer, Gilberto (ed): Splendori di una Dinastia: L'eredità Europea dei Manin e dei Dolfin. Milano, Electa, 43–50.

Pinzelli, Eric (2003): Venise et la Morée: du triomphe à la désillusion (1684–1718), Histoire. Doctoral dissertation. Aix-Marseille, Université de Provence.

Preto, Paolo (1991): Dolfin, Daniele. In: Dizionario biografico degli italiani, vol. 40. Roma, Istituto della enciclopedia italiana.

Raines, Dorit (1991): Office Seeking, Broglio, and the Pocket Political Guidebooks in Cinquecento and Seicento Venice. Studi Veneziani, XXII, 137–194.

Raines, Dorit (2003): Cooptazione, aggregazione e presenza al Maggior Consiglio: la casate del patriziato veneziano 1297–1797. Storia di Venezia, 1, 1–64.

Sabbadini, Roberto (1995): L'acquisto della tradizione: Tradizione aristocratica e nuova nobiltà a Venezia (secc. XVII–XVIII). Udine, Istituto editoriale Veneto Friulano.

Sabbadini, Roberto (1999): Il nuovo patriziato Veneziano: criteri di scelta e logiche di comportamento. Acta Histriae, 7, 1, 495–504.

Samardžić, Nikola (2011): The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718: An Introduction. In: Ingrao, Charles W., Samardžić, Nikola & Jovan Pešalj (eds.): The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718. West Lafayette, Purdue University Press, 9–38.

Setton, Kenneth Meyer (1991): Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century. Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society.

Stanojević, Gligor (1970): Jugoslovenske zemlje u mletačko-turskim ratovima XVI–XVIII vijeka. Beograd, Istorijski institut [in Cyrillic].

Stouraiti, Anastasia (2005): Una storia della guerra. Pietro Garzoni e il suo archivio. In: Infelise, Mario & Anastasia Stouraiti (eds.): Venezia e la guerra di Morea. Guerra, poitica e cultura alla fine del '600. Milan, Franco Angeli, 242–269.

THR (1717): The Historical Register, Containing an Impartial Relation of all Transactions, Foreign and Domesticks. Vol. I: For the Year 1716. London, Printed and sold by H. Meere in Black Fryners.

TNA SP 99/60– The National Archives, Kew-London (TNA), Records assembled by the State Paper Office, including papers of the Secretaries of State up to 1782, 1231–c1888 (SP); Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Venice, c1559–1778 (99), / 60 [Alexander Cunningham and Christian Cole, 1713–1714].

TNA SP 99/61 – TNA, SP, 99 / 61 [Letters from M[yste]r Cunningham to the Secretaries of State From 8. Jan[uar]y 1715. to the 31. Dec[embe]r 1717].

TNA SP 99/62 – TNA, SP, 99 / 62 [Letters from M[yester] Cunningham, Cons[u]ls Brown & Burgis to The Secretaries of State].

TNA SP 97/23 – TNA, SP, Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Turkey (97) /23. [Sir Rob[er]t Sutton from 31st January 1713 to 10th May 1716].

Trincaud, Anthelme (1718): Campagnes de Monsieur le Prince Eugène en Hongrie et des Généraux Vénitiens dans la Morée pendant les années 1716. & 1717., vol. I–II. Lyon, Chez Thomas Amaulry.

Viggiano, Alfredo (2013): Politics and Constitution. In: Dursteler, Eric R. (ed.): A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 47–84**.**

Zorzi, Marino (1982): Daniele Dolfin 3°, ambasciatore in Polonia, Ateneo Veneto, 20, 1–2, 267–302.

Received: 2021-03-12 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.15

THEODOR MOMMSEN IN MONTENEGRO (1862)

Jelena KNEŽEVIĆ
University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philology, Danila Bojovića b.b., 81400 Nikšić, Montenegro
e-mail: jelenak@ucg.ac.me

Julian KÖCK
University of Bern, Hochschulstrasse 6, 3012 Bern, Switzerland
e-mail: julian.koeck@hist.unibe.ch

ABSTRACT

This article addresses the issue of the 19th century image of Montenegro from the perspective of an educated European citizen, famous German ancient historian and Nobel Laureate Theodor Mommsen who visited Montenegro in May 1862 during the Montenegrin–Ottoman War. After spending a day in the capital Cetinje, he described his experience in a (hereby for the first time published) letter to his wife Marie Reimer in which he is trying to stay objective as a scholar, while nevertheless showing the supposedly superior point of view of a civilized European. Since the short text contains distinctive elements of 19th century travel writing, the objective of the interpretation is to construct its implied image of Montenegro.

Keywords: Theodor Mommsen, travel writing, image of Montenegro, 1862

THEODOR MOMMSEN IN MONTENEGRO (1862)

SINTESI

Questo articolo affronta la questione dell'immagine del Montenegro ottocentesco dal punto di vista dell'istruito cittadino europeo, famoso storico dell'antichità tedesco e premio Nobel Theodor Mommsen che aveva visitato il Montenegro nel maggio 1862 durante la guerra montenegrino-ottomana. Dopo aver trascorso una giornata nella capitale Cettigne, egli descrisse la sua esperienza in una lettera alla moglie Marie Reimer, cercando di rimanere oggettivo come studioso ma mantenendo il punto di vista superiore di un civilizzato cittadino europeo. Poiché il breve testo contiene elementi distintivi della letteratura di viaggio del XIX secolo, l'obiettivo dell'interpretazione è quello di costruire l'immagine del Montenegro implicatavi.

Parole chiave: Theodor Mommsen, letteratura di viaggio, immagine del Montenegro, 1862

INTRODUCTION

The famous German ancient historian Theodor Mommsen was by no means an armchair scholar. While his early fame was mainly a result of his popular *History of Rome* (*Römische Geschichte*, the first three tomes were published between 1854 and 1856, another one followed in 1885), his most important endeavor was the initiation of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* in 1853, resulting in a life-long work to gather as much Roman inscriptions as possible and to publish them in a scientifically useful way. Contrary to older historians, he was not satisfied with pooling lists of copies from other historians and laymen together; instead, he made it a principle that the historian had to seek out the inscription and inspect it for himself (Rebenich, 2002, 80–84). Obviously, this maxim made a lot of trips throughout the Mediterranean area necessary.

Only the especially magnificent inscriptions could be found in museums, the rest was scattered and not seldom reused in buildings like churches, houses, or even bridges. Therefore, the travelling historian had to have a sharp mind and strong legs, too. In 1862, one of those trips abroad brought Mommsen to the Eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea. While waiting for the next steamboat, he decided to use the 7th of May, his day off, to travel into the mountainous principality of Montenegro. Fortunately for us, the historian used to write travelogues for his family and friends. After his marriage to the daughter of his publisher, Marie Reimer (1832–1907), these reports came in the shape of letters to his wife. Nevertheless, Marie showed them to friends in Berlin and even sent them to friends and family abroad. We know of at least one case where these letters were copied, too.[1] Around 1200 letters of the correspondence between Theodor and Marie Mommsen are preserved and kept in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, their publication online is in work.[2] Among them is his letter from the 8th of May 1862 with his account about his journey to Montenegro, his meeting with the prince[3], and his observations of the country and its people. Alongside its perceptions of the otherness of this foreign region and culture vis-à-vis "civilized" Europe (Lyberatos, 2017, 199), Mommsen's letter has historical significance, too, because he witnessed the atmosphere in Cetinje during Omer

1 DLA, Marie Mommsen to Theodor Mommsen, 27. 11. 1857.

2 https://www.propylaeum.de/themen/mommsen-wilamowitz-moellendorff (last access: 2022-06-19).

3 Nikola I Petrović Njegoš (1841–1921) was proclaimed prince on the same day his uncle Danilo I (1826–1860) was assassinated in Kotor on 13th of August 1860. Nikola I. ruled as prince from 1860 to 1910 and as king from 1910 to 1918, when Montenegro was incorporated into Yugoslavia – Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Bartl, 1979a).

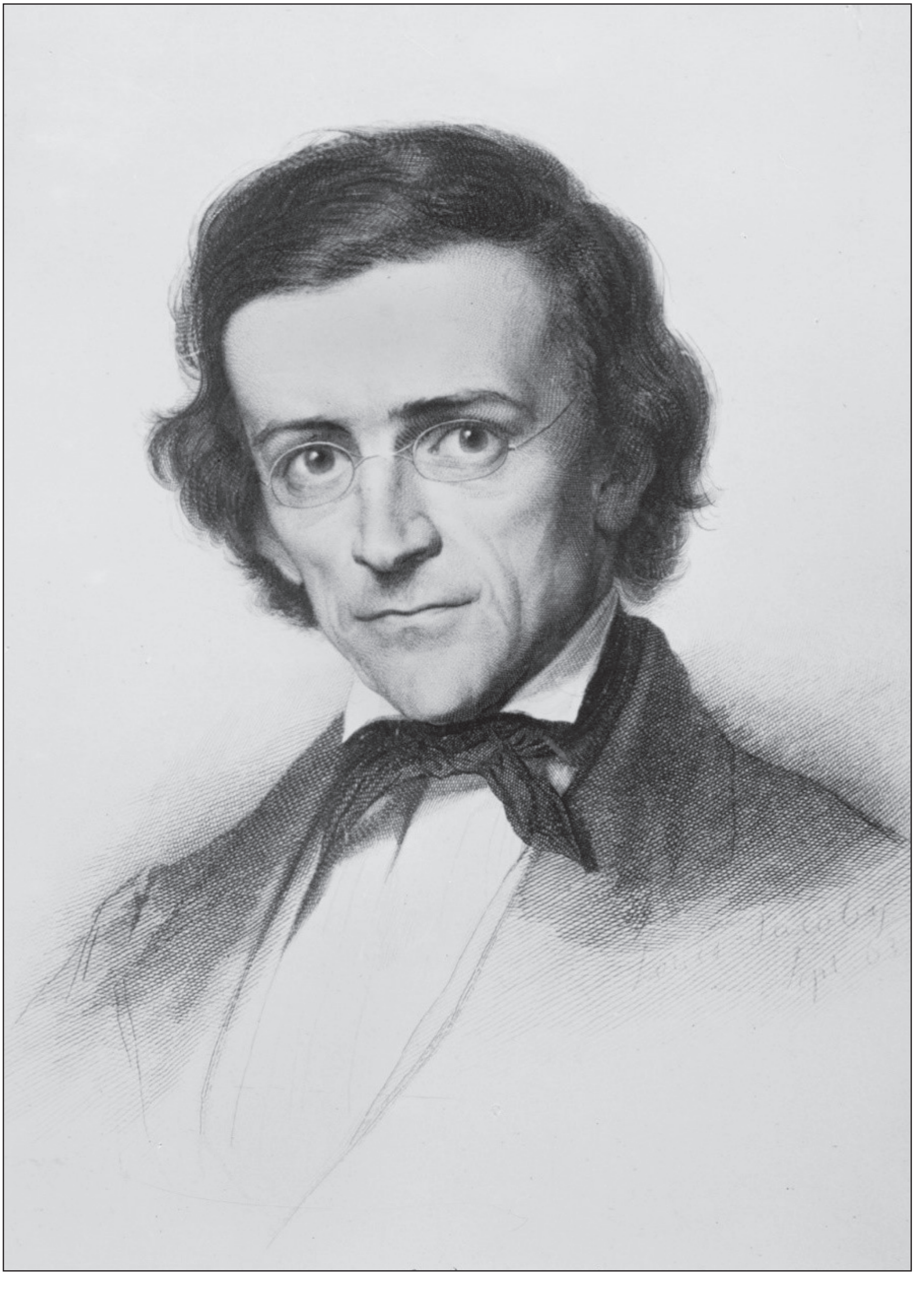


Fig. 1: Theodor Mommsen in 1863 (Louis Jacoby, Wikimedia Commons).

Pasha Latas'[4] campaign against Herzegovina and Montenegro. At the time, his army had suppressed the uprising in Herzegovina and already confronted Montenegrin fighters in Canyon Duga. By the end of May 1862, his troops started the general invasion of Montenegro (Pavićević, 1963, 290) and Montenegrins bravely defended themselves despite a serious lack of armaments and supplies after two months of resistance (Roberts, 2007, 232). Although Mommsen's letter does not offer a detailed account of the political events, it sketches two characteristic situations and the overall readiness for war. In this paper, we will point out those historical markers as well as the authors inevitable perceptions of "the other", "the exotic", "the Slavic".

In the 19th century, travel was no longer the privilege of young aristocrats. In Germany, it had become an integral part of bourgeois culture (Brenner, 1989; Kaschuba, 1999). Many traveling "Bürger" wrote about their experiences in foreign countries and published their travelogues in newspapers, magazines, or as monographs, thereby modifying the ever-shifting *mental maps* (Schenk, 2013) of foreign countries and peoples. These travelogues, however, are not just sources about the contemporary image of the foreign other, but of the writers' origins and intellectual background, too.

Therefore, in the following, our interest lies not only in the image of Montenegro, as Mommsen constructs and conveys it to his readers, but also in the question of what this can tell us about the constructor himself. First, the letter will be identified as travel literature. Subsequently, we will discuss important areas of content, in order to finally be able to draw a preliminary conclusion.

THE LETTER AS A DOCUMENTARY TRAVEL DESCRIPTION

"What would you say, dear Marie, when you hear that I hiked up to Montenegro yesterday?" (T. M.).[5] While Mommsen addressed the letter directly to his wife, it's important to know that he used the letters to her often as a form of diary, that would be read by other members of his family and friends, too (Köck, 2021, 327). Four very densely written pages long, Mommsen's letter contains distinctive features that instantly identify the text as belonging to the genre travelogue, following its "thematic-structural rule" that distinguishes itself by autoptic, „exposition of a descriptive layer", and subjectivity (Kšivi,

4 Ömer Lütfi Paşha – Latas (1806–1871) was a Christian born Ottoman general, who commanded Ottoman armies in several wars and crushed numerous rebellions throughout the Ottoman Empire, among them also the resistance to the Ottoman reforms in Bosnia in order to impose imperial control in the entire region (Temizer, 2018). In 1853, he defeated a Montenegrin army under Prince Danilo. After putting down the revolt in Hercegovina in 1861, he defeated the Montenegrins on Lake Skadar 1862, which was considered a difficult feat (Pavićević, 1963, 273; Roberts, 2007, 232).

5 Unless otherwise stated, the quotations from Mommsen's German letter as well as quotations from other texts originally in German, Montenegrin or Serbian are translated into English by the authors. The quotations from Mommsen's letter are marked with T. M.

2016, 850). It fits also into "modern attempts to limit the genre to true accounts of actual travels" (Sherman, 2002, 31). Written in the form of a letter – an often-used form for travel writing (Schuster, 2007, 640; Sherman, 2002, 30) – it is basically a documentary travel report which combines "a chronological narrative of movements and events with geographic and ethnographic observations" (Sherman, 2002, 30). Also typical is the consecutive structure of Mommsen's text, which is structured by chronologically ordered episodes of the one-day hike from Kotor to Cetinje and back.

The first-person voice of the letter introduces a strong sense of individual experience and brings the veracity of the message into focus. Mommsen's carefully crafted letter provides his readers with a sense of his interaction with the mountainous principality. And although he did not originally intend to publish his travel text, he used "complex rhetorical strategies" and "traditional imperatives of persuasion and entertainment" (Sherman, 2002, 31) like any travel writer trying to meet his addressee's expectations. He balanced the familiar and the unknown, and conjoined eyewitness testimony with second-hand information.

Furthermore, the reality of Mommsen's perspective as a researcher and his individual encounters with Slavic people[6] also shaped his writing in a particular way. From its first line, the letter gives us reason to believe that, beyond the daily news about Montenegro in the papers, he must have known some of the travel accounts published in German in the first half of the 19th century.[7]

6 In 1857, Mommsen traveled through Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, and Transylvania. In his long letters from the journey, he pictured the different Slavic people, Hungarians and the Romanians as more (Croatians) or less (Hungarians, Romanians) civilized nations. Albeit Mommsen's own early support for German nationalism and the revolution of 1848, he had no sympathy for the awakening national consciousness in Southeast Europe. Especially the civil wars following the Hungarian revolution in 1848 were sharply criticized as frivolous race wars (Racenkrieg, DLA, Theodor Mommsen to Marie Mommsen, 23. 09. 1857.). The different endeavors to strengthen the local languages incurred his strong disfavor, too, as in his view only the orientation towards Western European and classic culture would lead to a higher civilization in "Halb-Asien" (Glajar, 2001, 22). His views were quite typical for a German liberal in the middle of the 19th century (Lammich, 1978; Köck, 2021).

7 The very first and widely received book about Montenegro in German is the one of Serbian language reformer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Montenegro and Montenegrins* (*Montenegro und Montenegriner*) published in 1837. In 1853 followed the *History of Principality of Montenegro* by Aleksandar Andrić (*Geschichte des Fürstenthums Montenegro*) published in Vienna. In the meantime, a respectable number of articles about Montenegro and its people appeared in daily papers like *Das Ausland* and other journals like *Die Grenzboten*, in which Mommsen published, too (Krause, 2003). Moreover, within the first few decades of the century, the literature of travelers became a valuable source of the popular knowledge about the small Balkan country. The first travelogue in German was the translation of the travel account of Bartolomeo Biasoletto who visited Cetinje in 1838, accompanying King Frederick Augustus II. of Saxony on his botanical journey. The German translation of the book appeared in 1842. By the time Mommsen visited Cetinje, at least five German travelers had published their books about Montenegro based on their own travel experience, while a few more books about geography, ethnology and anthropology of the country were written built up on previous texts and travel reports (Knežević & Minić, 2019; Minić, 2020).

Although his letter does not contain already systematized geographical or ethnographical facts and does not refer directly to any of the existing travelogues, Mommsen treats most of Montenegrin topoi as known. Most landmarks were already described by different German authors of travel accounts that visited Montenegro before 1850, in the time of growing interest for the county and its ruler, Petar II Petrović Njegoš.[8] It's highly likely that Mommsen must have had some knowledge of this literature, as he recapitulated almost all common topoi of Montenegrin nature and culture. This knowledge, however, was supplemented by his own observations and by at least one local source, too. He mentions that his guide was a born Montenegrin, then living on the coast and thus speaking Italian. An example for this is his description of the lone stone chapel he saw on one high summit of mount Lovćen (Mommsen writes "Loptschen", spelling it phonetically). Not a single known German or Italian travel account published prior to Mommsen's visit mentions the church or its story. His guide told him about the wish of Montenegro's last prince-bishop, the enlightened ruler and famous poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851), to be buried where no Turk would be able to desecrate his corpse.[9] Presumably, the guide provided further background information for Mommsen. While Mommsen only mentions the guide as a source once, it's likely that some of the traveler's assessments, especially about things that could not be observed, were influenced by the opinions of the nameless Montenegrin born guide. Again and again, we find passages in which Mommsen must have combined prior knowledge, information from the guide, and his own observations. One example may suffice: As a hiker with a good sense of the field, Mommsen expresses the dimensions of the plain of Cetinje not in kilometers but in walking hours and depicts, with admiration, the view overlooking the valley, snow-covered mountains and a part of the Lake of Skadar, precisely naming them.

As a trained scholar he managed to observe a lot of cultural traits in a short time and as an excellent writer[10] he succeeded to present them in an entertaining and aesthetically pleasing fashion. As such, he restrained from

8 Only to mention five travelogues whose authors visited the country: Stieglitz 1841, 1845; Ebel 1842–1844; Müller 1844; Kohl 1851; Neigebaur 1851. There are at least three others from the same period based only on the second-hand information, and at least five travel accounts translated from other languages (e. g. Italian and Serbian).

9 The small round church was built in 1845 and Petar II Petrović dedicated it to his ancestor Petar I Petrović (1748–1830) who was canonized by the Orthodox Church as Saint Peter of Cetinje. Seriously ill, Petar II asked his brother and confidantes to bury him "on Lovćen, at the new church" (Rastoder & Andrijašević, 2006, 749). Since the chapel was bombarded and partly destroyed by Austrian artillery in World War I, it was rebuilt in 1925 by the Yugoslav king Aleksandar from the Serbian Karađorđević dynasty. In 1974, a grand marble mausoleum complex dedicated to Petar II was built there, which became a very popular and internationally well-known tourist destination. Cf.: Komatina & Alihodžić Jašarović, 2018.

10 Mommsen received the Nobel Prize for his *Roman History* and until today is one of the very few non-fiction writers to receive the Nobel prize in literature (Rebenich, 2002, 85–97).



Fig. 2: The Principality of Montenegro in 1862 (Heinrich Kiepert, Journal of the Berlin Geographical Society, Wikimedia Commons).

using judgmental characterizations, his convictions and cultural background, however, became visible. There are some very clear markers of Mommsen's European civilian identity that decisively influenced his perspective: the condemnation of war, aristocracy and power demonstrations, and the open advocacy for secularity and universal power of law show his background as *bildungsbürger* (*educated citizen*). And although he never claims his cultural,

political or moral superiority, this provides a specific lens through which the historian interpreted the read, heard and seen facts from Montenegro's recent history.

His report is systematical but free from encyclopedic detail, brief, precise and altogether marked with the clear intention to bring his experiences and newly gained knowledge as close as possible to his readers. Mommsen used genre-specific rhetoric to create objective but picturesque and powerful images of an impressive and rough landscape and of the small Slavic nation, recognizable not only by the imposing stature of its men and its hospitable and kind people, but also by its rebellious spirit that had continuously opposed domination of conquerors. Although based on his rational intellectual background and basic openness, Mommsen's image of Montenegro hardly goes beyond the simplifying construct of the *non-European exotic other*.[11]

Following, we try to highlight some important thematic aspects of the letter.

COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

Before even leaving Kotor and setting foot in the mountains, Mommsen notices the clothing of his guide (together with three different types of weapons) as a specific Montenegrin ethnographic feature: "He appeared in national costume, with a white coat open at the front and a belt, a rifle on his back, a dagger and pistols in his belt." („er erschien in Landestracht, mit dem weißen vorn offenem Rock und Gürtel, die Flinte auf dem Rücken, im Gürtel Dolch und Pistolen", *T. M.)*.[12] Climbing towards Cetinje, he notices not only the extraordinary beauty of the panorama, which is again a common place in the foreign travel accounts about Montenegro, but also the changes in the vegetation and the landscape „up there". („oben" T. M.). During his first break in village Njeguši, Mommsen gets to know Montenegro's simple cuisine: bread and good sheep milk cheese, wine. The modest food offer, but kind welcome in peasant houses whose doors were

11 By the *exotic other* here is to understand a construction of otherness, a superficial image of people from a non-western-European culture which is not necessarily repellent, not even fixed, but rather ambivalent. It fits into widely discussed concept of the Other and Otherness in anthropology, sociology and psychology as well as history teaching. Within the context of post-colonialism and orientalism as *exotic* can be understood "any form of orientation on Foreign" (Badenberg, 2007, 220). The East Europe was brought into focus within the concept of Other by Larry Wolff and Maria Todorova. Following the Said's concept of orientalism, Wolff (1994) wrote about the invention of Eastern Europe in the period of Enlightenment by Western intellectuals, while Maria Todorova elaborated "*balkanism* as discourse about an imputed ambiguity" (Todorova, 1997, 17). Cf.: Duncan, 1993; Mason, 1998; Buchowski, 2009; Jezernik, 2007.

12 There is almost no travelogue about Montenegro without description of the national costume (Ford, 1959, 373; Bulonj, 2002, 75; Popović 2015, 135, 142, 182; Krivokapić & Diamond, 2017, 42). For the majority of travel writers, national costume is in opposition to civic clothing and it is a symbol of loyalty to tradition, while only rare travel writers mention national costume in the context of expressing patriotic feelings and the national identity of Montenegrins (Popović, 2015, 135).

always open to foreign travelers created a reputation of outstanding Montenegrin hospitality in many travelogues from that time.[13] Along with comparison of Montenegrin heroism to those "of Homer's days" (Kol, 2005, 96), some later travel writers compare also the way of dining in Montenegro to that "of Homer's time" while watching "the whole rams turned on the spit" (Baldacci, as cited in Popović, 2015, 110).

During his travel from the Dalmatian coast into the Montenegrin mountains, Mommsen naturally correlates both areas. He stresses that the houses and the basic living conditions of the Montenegrins are similar to those of the Morlachs, members of a rural Christian community in the Dalmatian hinterland, which were comprehensively described in travel accounts of Italian authors (first of them Alberto Fortis in *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, 1774) who associated the term with the stereotype of a noble savage (Popović, 2015, 33–34).[14] Further comparison with Dalmatia concerns the local houses built from stone and with straw roofs, some with shingle[15] – "no worse" ("nicht schlechter", T. M.) or as good as in Dalmatia – and suggest the perception of the region as geographically but also culturally very similar.[16] However, wandering through the "immense massif" ("ungeheure Bergmaße", T. M.). Mommsen started to notice the uniqueness of the Montenegrins. In contrast to his rather negative notes on Romanians, which he described as having faces alike to city gangsters ("großstädtische Lumpengesichter")[17] or beast-like appearances ("häßliche thierische Physiognomien"),[18] he portrays the

13 Cf.: Štiglic, 2004, 54; Popović, 2015, 183, 218.

14 The first German translation of Fortis' Travelogue *Reise in Dalmatien* appeared in 1776 in Bern.

15 Exactly the same description of rural architecture can be found by the 19th century British travelers (Wilkinson, Trevor, Denton) that compare Montenegrin huts with those in the Scottish Highlands or in the Irish countryside. (Ford, 1959, 353). The description of the French doctor Boulongne, in his book *Le Montenegro, le pays et ses habitants*, published in Paris in 1869 and written during his stay in Montenegro from summer 1867, testifies that the houses were made from the same material and in a similar way also in the town Cetinje a few years after Mommsen's visit (Bulonj, 2002, 26–28). The influences of Western European architecture will reach Montenegro in the second half of the reign of prince Nikola, after the Congress of Berlin. Cf.: Đurašević Miljić, 2015, 373.

16 Since the end of the 18th century Austrian and German travel writers present Dalmatia predominantly as a land of unusual vegetation and geographical features (Pederin, 1989, 44). Most of them idealize the natives in the spirit of Rousseau often testifying to the poor conditions in which they live, but changing slowly the western image of Dalmatia as "partibus infidelium", a wild and remote province with a bad climate and full of outlaws (Pederin, 1989, 118). Dalmatia, however, also enjoyed the reputation of an area rich in cultural and historical monuments, which was the original reason for Mommsen to visit it, but also for Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–875), British archaeologist and author of "Dalmatia and Montenegro" (1848). For J. G. Kohl, who also travelled through Montenegro, Dalmatia is primarily a geopolitical term, "the edge of the barbaric Greek-Slavic peninsula, which differs from it in everything, including the climate, and constantly wants to separate from it" (Pederin, 1989, 164). Still, he was deeply impressed by the Slavism in Dalmatia that appeared in the cultural form of "Vlachs". Giving a detailed picture of their everyday life in the mid-19th century, he established a romantic-exotic image of the Vlachs living in, however, wild and neglected country and a patriarchal society (Pederin, 1989, 171).

17 DLA, Theodor Mommsen to Marie Mommsen, 23. 09. 1857.

18 DLA, Theodor Mommsen to Marie Mommsen, 23. 04. – 27. 04. 1862.

Montenegrins as a "stately" and "clever" appearing people that are "ausgearbeitet" (literally: carved out) by the omnipresent war. All throughout the letter, Mommsen stresses the warlike character of Montenegro; inter alia, by mentioning the all-present weaponry of the men, by using the coeval Montenegrin way of counting village sizes by number of "flintlocks",[19] by describing fortresses, cannons and prisoners of war, by terming houses as barracks, by citation of a folk song about a dead husband. Without losing much words on gender roles, he, at least, hints at the rather low position of women and, vice versa, the strong patriarchy of a warrior-society. He observed not only that corn was mostly not brought up into the mountains by beasts of burden or men, but on the back of women ("wimmelte von Montenegrinerinnen, die theils auf Lastthieren, meistens aber auf dem Rücken Korn hinaufschleppten", T. M.). Unlike some of later Italian and British visitors, Mommsen does not comment the image of Montenegrin women bent under a heavy load along steep roads, which became a stereotype in the representation of the small Balkan principality in the second half of the 19th century.[20] Rather than condemning the subordination of women or lack of emancipation that was however typical for patriarchal societies also in Europe of that time, he gives the sharply formulated assessment of the Montenegrin attitude towards the feminine in general. At the end of the letter, interpreting the anecdote from the Prince Danilo's time, he mentions correctly that to be treated as a woman was the ultimate dishonor for a Montenegrin man, worse than death.[21]

Describing the capital Cetinje, Mommsen does not miss to mention the custom of exposing the abrupted Turkish heads on the round tower above the monastery. The custom was, in fact, one of the most frequently mentioned motifs in the travelogues about Montenegro written before and after Mommsen's visit.[22] From

19 Doctor Boulongne also describes the Montenegrin army as a loose formation, "a huge mobile guard that includes all the able-bodied population in the country, i. e. all healthy men from 17 to 60 years old. He estimates that there are 30,000 men under arms who could gather for the defense of the country, if necessary and provides a detailed description of arms typical for an individual fighter (Bulonj, 2002, 89). Also British travelers devote "inordinate amount of space" in their travel accounts to the Montenegrin as a warrior (Ford, 1959, 361) and see war in Montenegro as "the business of life" (Mackenzie and Irby as cited in Ford, 1959, 361).

20 Fifteen years later Alfredo Serristori described with pity almost the same picture of women under heavy burden (as cited in Popović, 2015, 90). Also, Mackenzie and Irby in 1877 notice that "carriage of burdens fell to the lot of women", while Trevor in 1913 remarks that the „treatment of women was the single worst mark against Montenegrins (as cited in Ford, 1959, 365). Baldacci (1886) also feels sorry for the Montenegrin women for carrying the burden, noticing though that despite this "they possess a beauty that is rarely found in Italy". In 1899 Manfredo Cagni criticizes Montenegrins for leaving hard physical work to women, thus allowing them to "humpback and grow old before their time" (as cited in Popović, 2015, 106, 170).

21 Phrases like "živjeti pod maramom (lit. live under a kerchief; wear a kerchief (like a woman)" and "pripasati žensku opregljaču (lit. to put on a woman's apron – to be dishonored)" (Mrkaić, 2020, 73) are good examples. For this topic cf. Mrkaić, 2020.

22 For example: Neigebaur (1851, 59), Wilkinson, Wyon and Prance (as cited by Ford, 1959, 362), Baulongne (Bulonj, 2002, 61), Stieglitz (Štiglic, 2004, 110), Kohl (Kol, 2005, 295).

a Western European perspective this custom was seen as an atavism, representing the ‘savageness’ of South Eastern Europe. Interestingly, Mommsen decided to place the custom in the far past (“vor Zeiten”, T. M.), although the custom was suspended less than five years ago, during the rule of prince Danilo I Petrović Njegoš (1826–1860), and most likely under the influence of his wife, Darinka (Holeček, 2002, 120).[23] According to Guillaume Lejean, the custom was suspended after the battle of Grahovac in 1858 (Jovanović, 2016, 120). Unlike most prior German travelers in Montenegro (especially Stieglitz), Mommsen does not go to great lengths to paint the Montenegrins as an especially aggressive or savage nation by nature. It’s interesting that he does not mention the concept of the blood feud, together with the beheading of enemies one of the most known stereotypes of the country (Darovec 2017, 82–86; Darovec 2019, 719, 729). Also, he witnessed the celebration of Saint Mark – an “impressive procession” – indicating accurately three distinctive elements of the event: flags, priests with missal, and the community with icons. Further, Mommsen describes the cultural landscape – streets, fields, water basins – and its management as more than sufficient (Köck, 2021, 359). Again, this stands in opposition to his earlier comments about the supposedly lazy and disorderly Slavs in Eastern Europe. The description of the Montenegrin capital is complemented with information about the new and the old residence[24], “the monastery attached to the rock it has been hanging on” (“am Felsen hängendes befestigtes Kloster”, T. M.) and small number of houses inhabited by officials and servants. Those houses Mommsen compares with barracks. Only few years later Alfred Boulongne, the French doctor and the secretary of Prince Nikola gave more detailed but very similar description of the buildings in Cetinje that Mommsen mentioned (Bulonj, 2002, 24–29). Boulongne will use the same comparison with barrack to describe the prince’s former residence that Mommsen referred to as new, but that Prince Nikola had already moved out in 1867 (Bulonj, 2002, 25).

COURT AND WAR

Beside his guide, the first Montenegrin Mommsen could speak with was prince Nikola I himself. As a foreign guest, the traveling historian was kindly received at court and invited to lunch with the royal family. Mommsen uses his description of the meeting to put alien and familiar elements in contrast. Interestingly, the

23 Darinka Petrović Njegoš (1838–1892), born and educated in Trieste, was the wife of Montenegrin prince Danilo Petrović Njegoš who married her in January 1855 (Rastoder & Andrijašević, 2006, 1012), after he in 1852 renounced the spiritual title of bishop and took the secular title of prince (Jovićević, 1994, 51).

24 “The new residence” mentioned by Mommsen is Biljarda, built in 1838 by Petar II Petrović Njegoš and not (as Mommsen states) by Danilo I Petrović Njegoš (1826–1860). The palace served as a ruler’s residence also for Njegoš’s successor Danilo I and Nikola I until 1867, when the Montenegrin princely family moved to prince Nikola’s palace. “The old one” is the Monastery of Cetinje which was used as the royal residence until 1839.

description has no parallel in other travelogues. The narration could be taken straight out of an adventurer's tale: it starts with the prince holding court under the open sky, around him the "powerful" ("kräftigen", T. M.) figures of his host. Mommsen stresses that the prince was the sole judge and decided everything for himself, possibly to invoke the picture of an Asian despot. Since 1855, the Code of Danilo has been in force in Montenegro. It regulated the position of the court and judges in the state government, but the prince, as the holder of supreme power in the country, had the exclusive right to cancel death sentences and declare an amnesty, but also to decide at last instance on appeals of the citizens (Rastoder et al., 2006, 1204, 1168). In his book on Danilo's Code (1994) Jovićević refers to the verdict of the Montenegrin Senate from March 25, 1862, claiming that the judiciary also worked during the war in 1862 (100), so the scene that Mommsen saw may have been one of the many appeals in a civil case.

A year later Viscountess Strangford describes almost the same scene in which "the prince holds court" and comments that every peasant had a right to personally approach the prince for judgement and that their affection for the prince was so great that "no one would dream of questioning his justice" (as cited in Krivokapić & Diamond, 2017, 44). The custom left a strong impression on the Italian travel writer Carlo Yriarte fifteen years after Mommsen's visit (Popović, 2015, 71) while at the end of the century William Miller stressed "traditionally intimate and personal leadership of the Princes in Montenegro" in the same context (as cited in Ford, 1959, 368).

The diner, then, followed the European fashion ("ganz in europäischer Art", T. M.)[25]. Although the guest does not specify what kind of food was served, this concise description suggests that both the food and the manners at the prince's table were something common and familiar to him, unlike the meal in the peasant's house to which he had previously paid more attention. Mommsen talked to the Parisian educated Nikola I[26] and his French secretaire and doctor. Although the doctor introduced Mommsen to the prince, he does not give his name, but it was, no doubt, Jacques Toussain Pankrazy that stayed in Cetinje between 1861 and 1865.[27]

---

25 Soon after her arrival in Montenegro in 1855, Princess Darinka arranged life at court in the French manner, trying to introduce European customs to Montenegro. In 1862 her influence at court was still very strong (Jovanović, 2016, 116, 202).

26 From 1856, Prince Nikola I spent four years of schooling at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris, where he easily learned to speak and write French and managed to read all the French classics (Jovanović, 2016, 132).

27 Brajović mentions Pankrazy as one of three French doctors-secretaries that stayed in Cetinje between 1858 and 1888 (2019, 148). Pankrazy was a medical corps 2nd class major and beside his medical duty at the court he also accompanied Montenegrin diplomatic missions to Belgrade, Dubrovnik and Vienna. Cf.: Vujović, 1974.

The other participants, however, couldn't speak French nor Italian.[28] Mommsen mentions (again, without giving their names) the future Queen of Montenegro and mother-in-law of the Italian and Yugoslavian kings Milena Vukotić ("a very lovely sixteen-year-old child" / "ein allerliebstes sechzehnjähriges Kind", T. M.) and Nikola's father Mirko Petrović Njegoš, the brother of the last prince-bishop.[29] The scene of the prince's hospitality is interrupted by the news of recent distant shootings around the Lake that forced the prince to leave the guest immediately after lunch and lead a party to investigate the incident. As was already seen, Mommsen illustrated Montenegro as a country in constant war against the Ottomans. However, it seems that he was not aware that his visit in Montenegro was in the middle of a conventional war, the Montenegrin-Ottoman War of 1862[30] and shortly before the start of a general Ottoman campaign led by Omer Pasha Latas into the principality. Mommsen's visit took place in one of the armistice days shortly before the Montenegrins led by Petar Vukotić, the prince's father-in-law, assaulted the city Nikšić,

28 According to the testimony of the Russian consul Petković, even after the death of Prince Danilo in 1860, French was mostly spoken in the court, when Princess Darinka, who spoke four foreign languages, and her brothers were in Cetinje (Jovanović, 2016, 118). After two years of absence, princess Darinka returned to Cetinje during Omer Pasha's second campaign in 1862 (Rastoder & Andrijašević, 2006, 1012), but apparently not before the day Mommsen visited the country.

29 Mirko Petrović Njegoš (1820–1867), the Father of Prince Nikola's older brother of Prince Danilo I was well-known as a decisive freedom fighter, one of the best Montenegrin military commanders, also as revengeful and brutal. He won important battles against the Ottoman forces in previous wars as well as the title of the Grand Duke after the victory by Grahovac in 1858. He also he commanded the Montenegrin army in Montenegrin–Ottoman War in 1862. Since he was the one the Ottomans blamed for encouraging the uprise in Hercegovina prior the war, within the peace negotiations the Turks demanded Duke Mirko's exile, but gave up that request later. He openly influenced the decisions of his son and factually ruled Montenegro until his death in 1867 (Rastoder & Andrijašević, 2006, 1016).

30 In the first years of his rule prince Nikola was decidedly influenced by his father Duke Mirko (1820–1867), the brother and advisor of Danilo I. They steered the country into open conflict with the Ottoman Empire by territorial expansion and a forced national struggle for international recognition of Montenegro's independence from Istanbul. Eventually, Montenegro's permanent support of the uprising in Herzegovina and constant attacks on Turkish posts along the border led to an ultimatum by the Ottomans to stop those practices. After Nikola refused to accept the Sublime Porte's terms the war became inevitable. (Pavićević, 1963, 173–298; Andrijašević, 2006, 103–104; Pavićević, 2007, 605–609). Porte's ultimatum to Prince Nikola and his reply at the beginning of April 1862 were merely formal diplomatic documents; events overtook them and made them remain without much effect; war operations had already begun on all fronts around Montenegro (Pavićević, 2007, 608). The Montenegrins defeated an Ottoman army in Canyon Duga near Nikšić on April 13, while suffering great losses themselves. After the Montenegrin assault on Nikšić in May, Omer Pasha's army struck back and started an invasion from three directions (Pavićević, 1963, 288, 298; Pavićević, 2007, 621). For two months the Montenegrin commanders Mirko Petrović and Petar Vukotić were able to hold out. In August, however, Omer Pasha struck again and the Montenegrins suffered a decisive defeat on Lake Skadar. Both sides had suffered heavy losses and the war ended under terms dictated by the Ottomans with the Convention of Scutari of August 31. Turkish army left Montenegro on September 8, 1862. (Pavićević, 1963, 360; Roberts, 2007, 233).



Fig. 3: Montenegrin rebells on the eve of Montenegrin-Ottoman war 1876 (Wikimedia Commons).

held by Ottomans.[31] The shootings he mentioned came from the disputed border area on Skadar Lake, where the Ottoman forces were grouped earlier that spring in order to invade Montenegro. That was one of three directions from where the Ottomans planed the invasion (Pavićević, 1963, 288) and also where, later in August, Montenegro suffered a decisive defeat. Mommsen also mentions the prisoners of war he saw in the capital. These Albanian farmers were pressed by the Turks to fight and were supposed to be released soon. He stated that rather as a matter of fact but for his German readers, this must have been extraordinary; not because of a lack of wars in middle Europe, obviously, but because of the commonness of these ongoing conflicts and how they shaped, at least in Mommsen's eyes, the whole Montenegrin culture: "everything here is war" ("alles ist hier Krieg", T. M.).

A dozen of captured cannons in the main square recall battle won in the previous war and the medals and decorations took from the defeated enemy evoke

31 According to Pavićević, Nikšić was assaulted on the anniversary of the Battle of Grahovac (1963, 299), i. e. the 13th of May (Rastoder et al., 2006, 122–123), only few days after Mommsen's visit in Cetinje.

the sense of national pride. The prince had brought the medals for his visitor to admire not the medals themselves but the heroism of the small nation in the decisive battle. Writing here about the Battle of Grahovo Mommsen makes a material mistake claiming that the battle took place in 1859. It was most likely a slip of the pen because in the further lines the historian shows that he was informed about the battle at the time it was fought, apparently from articles in the German press, since he interprets the Montenegrin victory as won by means of treachery ("niedrige Treulosigkeit", T. M).[32] The omnipresence of war in the country made such a strong impression on Mommsen – he hears it also in dirges of Montenegrins who he met during his arduous descent back to Kotor. Indeed, in such a world of constant conflict there would be no place for the uncivilized and rather evil laziness he thought to recognize in other Eastern nations.[33] The constant struggle between Montenegro and the Ottomans was by no means unknown in central Europe and was prominently discussed in the early 19th century German literature about Montenegro.[34] Now the historian witnessed it himself, if only indirectly and with the perspective of a foreign visitor in a certain historical moment. This puts his descriptions of the warlike character of Montenegro somewhat into perspective. However, it's saying that the Montenegrin court entertained guests in such a critical moment, making the guest believe that all things were in order.

Mommsen's representation of Prince Nikola's is one of the earliest in travelogues about Montenegro.[35] Despite his friendly welcoming, the German historian voiced a rather bad opinion of Nikola I, describing him as somewhat of a dandy, only interested in his command of the kitchen and the shininess of his shoes ("und beschäftigt sich selbst mit der Direction seiner Küche und mit Glanzstiefeln", T. M.). Obviously, there is a sharp fracture in Mommsen's letter: at first, the prince is described as a deciding figure, leading his men into the field, then, at the end

32 E. g. Allgemeine Zeitung, 28. 05. 1858.

33 In another letter to his wife, he laments about the "Werthlosigkeit der Zeit" (worthlessness of time) in the East and the fact that even servants were late risers (DLA, Theodor Mommsen to Marie Mommsen, 04. 09. 1857).

34 Cf. also Fn. 12. Vuk Karadžić points out that for Montenegrins any profession beside warrior was "not enough dignifying" (1837, 64). Karadžić was the one who stressed the warrior tradition of Montenegrins above all other characteristics and traditions, influencing future travelers and writers. Robert Cyprien (1844, 71–72) calles the Montenegrins a "warlike people", while Stieglitz describes Montenegrin culture as a "monolithic tradition of warriors, sheepmen and farmers" (Štiglic, 2004, 53). Ebel praises Montenegrins fighting for their freedom (2006, 87) and Kohl emphasizes the heroic nature of Montenegrin warfare (Kol, 2005, 138). That can be seen as a part of a heroic discourse that arose in the first half of the 19th century (Šistek, 2009, 265).

35 Only a year after Mommsen British Viscountess Strangford was welcomed by Prince Nikola in the royal palace. She described Prince Nikola as a very pleasant and jolly young man, who looks older than his years and tells a few interesting stories about his and his family's kindness (Krivokapić & Diamond, 2017, 40–41). Also in the later travel accounts the representation of Montenegrin ruler is often associated with images of him receiving guests in the royal court or greeting them in the field. (Popović, 2015, 71, 85; Krivokapić & Diamond, 2017, 82, 93; Tatar-Anđelić, 2017, 15, 40, 228).

of the letter, he is transformed into the illustration of a spoiled princeling. The image of a Parisian schooled prince only interested in superficial comfort fits into the narrative and mirrors the liberal German mythos about the dualism between earnest citizens struggling for a more civilized nation and the backwardness of ignorant princes. That image could also be an expression of Mommsen's doubt in the prince Nikola's ability to continue the reforms of his implacably determined predecessor in order to *civilize* and emancipate the nation. Emphasizing the fact that the prince is strongly influenced by his father, Mirko Petrović Njegoš, the historian does not take into account his youth and inexperience. But how should Mommsen have known these things? It seems almost certain that after meeting the prince for himself, an unmentioned source must have influenced Mommsen and reshaped his first impression, e. g. with some backward information not only about the prince and his strong-willed uncle Danilo I, but also about his father, who he describes as "greedy and cruel" ("habgierig und grausam" T. M.).[36] It is revealing that Mommsen's apodictic formulations reveal no doubt about his sources. The Prussian professor made no effort whatsoever to take a differentiated or source-critical view, but judged over what he had seen, just as he was accustomed in his historical works.

The last sentence of the letter, however, refers not only to prince Nikola and could be understood as Mommsen's universal critic of aristocracy: "So quickly one gets used to be a prince" ("So schnell gewöhnt man sich ans Prinzenwesen", T. M.).

DISCIPLINING AND CIVILIZING

However, there was one kind of prince, Mommsen admired greatly: those that created nations. For him, nations were the senseful product of the historical development. In this, he was a true Hegelian (Köck, 2021, 363), understanding history as a "perpetual revelation" ("dauernde Offenbarung", as cited in Flaig, 2005, 185). For the development of a nation, a strong state with an equally strong leader – subduing any drive for particularism – was necessary. Therefore, the liberal historian and parliamentarian was able to praise despots like Sulla and Caesar (Rebenich, 2002, 92, 86).

This must be seen as the background of his narration of the development of a Montenegrin nation, starting with the countless reforms of Danilo I. By comparing Danilo I directly to Peter the Great, Mommsen invokes the prevalent

36 A possible source of information about the Montenegrin prince and his father could have been an anonymous article from 1861 in the journal *Grenzboten*, published by a friend of Mommsen and where he also periodicaly published some of his articles. About the Montenegrin prince it says: "He takes care of the government only as far as his father, the Senate President Mirko, allows him. Mirko, a very energetic, strict man with a certain degree of administrative talent, who also distinguished himself as a warrior against the Turks, is the actual regent" (Anonymous, 1861, 134).



Fig. 4: Montenegro's Prince Nikola I Petrović Njegoš in Vienna 1865 (Photo studio Mr. Victor Angerer, Pinterest).

myth of Peter civilizing Russia by Europeanizing it. Mommsen's colleague in Breslau, the historian Heinrich Rückert, formulated the mythos exemplary: only by Peter's modernization could Russia have been saved from the fate of the other Slavic nations, which were only touched by European culture in the Middle Ages without becoming properly cultivated (Rückert, 1858, 2, 679). Mommsen treats this mythos as a conversant topos on the West and Middle European mental maps of Eastern Europe.[37] In the case of Montenegro, he reframes it by constructing the narrative of a nation of brave and battle-tested men that had to be reformed. Mommsen stresses Danilo's "unheard strictness" ("unerhörte Strenge" T. M.), his mass executions of bandits (even men of his own household), and emasculating punishments for thieves.[38] Evidently, the Prussian professor thought the cultural assimilation to Western Europe necessary for the improvement of Eastern nations like Montenegro. However, this cultural assimilation had to be accompanied by the implementation of law and order. The development of a brave and warlike but uncivilized nation "becoming more disciplined and civilized" ("zu disciplinieren und zu civilisieren", T. M.) can be seen as the core of Mommsen's narrative about the people of Montenegro: to become a modern nation, the people must learn to voluntarily submit to the state's power and its law. It's interesting that he obviously was convinced that this "noteworthy little country" ("merkwürdiges kleines Ländchen", T. M.) was potentially able to become a nation and, thus, part of Europe and modernity, while he made no such assumptions for other people in the Eastern Europe. For them, from his point of view, only cultural enhancement through German influence within the framework of a multi-ethnic state was conceivable (Köck, 2021, 362–365).

CONCLUSION

Theodor Mommsen was not a fiction writer but a scholar whose travels were fundamental to his research. Cetinje provoked his curiosity and he used the opportunity to visit the principality of Montenegro although it was irrelevant for his mission and costed him almost twelve hours of hiking into a potentially dangerous region. He wrote a private letter about it without any intention of

37 Cf.: Schenk, 2013 to the concept. To the East in Western European mental maps cf.: Wolff, 1994 and Neumann, 1999.

38 The short story about prince Danilo I at the end of the letter Mommsen illustrates with concise anecdotes about his way of establishing the law and order in the country by applying the Code in a very radical way. Among them, the anecdote of the thief, who stole from the lead that the prince had bought for ammunition. For a punishment, the thief had to appear in the gatherings with a lead around his neck and "degraded" to woman, with a woman's belt and a spindle. Surprisingly Mommsen claims that this was one of the reasons that led to the murder of the prince in 1861. The historiographical works do not provide that information. Danilo I was assassinated in Kotor by the political emigrant Todor Kadić (Rastoder & Andrijašević, 2006, 1006). Several different reasons for that murder have been preserved in the collective memory of Montenegrins. The relevant historical sources have not confirmed any of them yet.

providing a rounded image of Montenegro as a scientific, historical, geographical, ethnic, linguistic and geopolitical term, but rather to present what he could see during a short visit to the country famous for its warrior reputation. As a scientist he tends to be objective, and as a writer to compose an interesting reading. His image of Montenegro is undoubtedly influenced by his personal perspective and attitudes of educated and well-read, informed citizen of his time, which is especially evident in the second part of the letter, when he moves from the geographical and ethnographic characteristics to the sketch of the social and political reality of Montenegro.

The travelogue is strongly characterized by a mixture of at least three levels of knowledge: 1. the obvious but unspecified knowledge from previously read publications, 2. the direct view of the experienced traveler and observer, and 3. conversations with presumably several unnamed interlocutors. Unfortunately, we can make certain statements exclusively about the second level. His prior knowledge and what he may have learned from conversations remains unclear. Nevertheless, it becomes obvious that the historian has sensibly structured his account to offer more than just a string of tourist observations. Thus, he created a short, but stringent narrative about Montenegro's past, present and, potentially, her future. It obviously reflects the mental map of a German of his time, only counting the Romanic and Germanic nations as truly European. However, we can detect another grounding of his narrative in his thinking about peoples and states. Arguably, it is this intellectual background that allowed Mommsen to look past supposedly bizarre and foreign customs and helped him to integrate all three levels of knowledge into one meaningful story about this "noteworthy little country".

The center of Mommsen's narrative is the evocation of the myth of the virile mountain people on the edge of the civilized world. His description stands out from other travelogues in that he emphasizes the influence of the constant conflict with the Turks as positive and clearly refrains from portraying the population as particularly bloodthirsty or barbaric. Even more, Mommsen implicitly credits the principality with the possibility of advancing into the circle of civilized nations by its own efforts. It is by no means an exaggeration to state that Mommsen's image of the people of Montenegro is clearly more benevolent than his opinion of all other Eastern European peoples. This applies not only to the impression the population made on him, but also to the infrastructural and agricultural situation.

Obviously, such a short travelogue does not allow to draw a serious character picture of its author from it. However, the apodictic description, which does not reveal any doubts on the part of the author, is strongly reminiscent of Mommsen's Roman History.[39] Based on sources that are not discussed further,

39 Rebenich (2002, 88) rightfully writes about Mommsen: "Er brachte die Akteure vor das Tribunal seiner Geschichtsschreibung und sprach über sie Recht nach seinen Gesetzen."

the gifted writer creates a congruent narrative that interweaves his own observations, foreign opinions and supra-temporal motifs. It is therefore possible to formulate the assumption that Mommsen engaged with the present in the same way he wrote about history.

Mommsen left us a convincing, vivid, and authentic literary miniature of Montenegro and its place in Western European imagination in the 19th century. We may ask if this perception really has made progress in the last 120 years, or – in other words – if Montenegro is still only seen as on the steps of becoming 'truly' European?

Following, Mommsen's letter is printed for the first time, without modernization of orthography and punctuation; it's written in German hand, only the words in italics were written in Latin hand, additions are in < >. | indicate a linebreak in the autograph, || a new site.

Cattaro[40] 8 Mai 1862.

Was wirst Du dazu sagen, liebe Marie, daß ich gestern nach Montenegro hinauf- | gegangen bin? Aber wie die *vapori*[41] liegen, von denen meine Reise zum | guten Theil abhängt, blieben mir für Cattaro zwei Tage, also ein Tag frei und da ich unter- | wegs hörte, daß man in sechs Stunden in Cetinje, der Hauptstadt[42] von Mon- | tenegro, sein könne, so entschloß ich mich rasch zu dieser freilich nicht besonders | archäologischen Expedition. Ein jüdischer Kaufmann von hier, deßen Bruder ich unterwegs | kennen gelernt hatte, und der hiesige katholische Bischof[43] verschafften mir Führer | und Empfehlungen. Früh Morgens kam denn jener, ein geborener Montene- | griner, aber jetzt in Cattaro ansäßig und des Italienischen, das heißt des hiesigen | schlechten Venetianisch, ganz kundig; er erschien in Landestracht, mit dem weißen | vorn offenem Rock und Gürtel, die Flinte auf dem Rücken, im Gürtel Dolch und | Pistolen. Cattaro liegt hart unter einer himmelshohen Felswand; diese ging es zuerst | hinauf, zwei volle Stunden lang; auf der halben Höhe liegt das österreichische Fort | S. Giovanni. Die Aussicht ist wundervoll; man sieht den Golf von Cattaro wie | einen See, davor den größeren von Castelnuovo[44] und das freie Meer. | Oben angelangt ist alles verändert: Maulbeeren und Feigen hören auf, | man sieht nur Kornfelder zwischen den Felsen und auf den Abhängen den |

40 The old Italian name for Kotor (Loidl, 2014, 131).

41 I. e. the steamboats that were the backbone of commute on the mountainous Eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea.

42 From the late 15th century until 1918 and again from 1941 to 1944, Cetinje was the capital of Montenegro. Today's capital is Podgorica (Rastoder et al., 2006, 197–198, 1035–1037).

43 Marko Kalogjera (1819–1888) was the bishop of Kotor from 1856 to 1866 (Annuario Pontifico, 1870, 216).

44 The old Italian name for Herceg Novi (Gjonovic, 1902).

schönen maifrischen Buchenwald. Die Spitzen der höheren Berge haben noch Schnee. | Bald zeigt sich eine größere rings von Felsen umschloßene Ebene, darin das | erste montenegrinische Dorf Njegusch[45], eine stattliche Ortschaft von 500 Flinten[46], | mit drei Kirchen. Hier frühstückten wir in der ersten Bauernhütte; es gab Brot, | Wein (der von unten kommt) und guten Schafkäse. Die Häuser sind nicht schlechter als die ordinaeren | morlakischen[47], von Stein, gewöhnlich ohne Fenster, aber mit einer offenen | Halle vor der Thür, mit Stroh oder schlechten Schindeln gedeckt. Die Leute sehen stattlich | und klug aus, besonders die älteren Männer, die das Kriegsleben ausgear- | beitet hat. Erst von hier an beginnen die eigentlich für dieses Land charakteri- | stischen Berge. Die grauen furchtbar zerklüfteten und malerischen Felsen | bilden lauter kleinere und größere Trichter, die wie Bienenzellen an einander | hängen; die Kronen sind nackt, die Abhänge oft malerisch mit Laubholz, beson- | ders Buchen bewachsen; unten bildet sich häufig ein kleiner zirkelrunder Grund | von fruchtbarer Erde, der wo irgend möglich bepflanzt wird, wenn auch nur | mit Kartoffeln. Das Land ist überhaupt nach Verhältniß zu seiner Beschaffenheit | gut angebaut, wenigstens ebenso gut wie Dalmatien; jene Trichter sind oft | mit kreisrunden Steinwällen ausgesetzt, um möglichst viel Platz zu ge- | winnen. Fließendes Waßer fehlt gänzlich; diese Gründe aber sind durch Schneemaßen, || die hier sich anhäufen frisch gehalten. Der Weg führt auf dem | Rande jener Trichter; man geht beständig auf den harten Steinen und | steigt auf und ab, ohne daß doch der Boden sich im Ganzen hebt oder senkt. | Uebrigens ist die Straße gut gehalten, so weit sie es sein kann; man trifft | mehrere gefaßte Brunnen, namentlich ein schönes gewölbtes Baßin, das | vom Schneewaßer der nahen Berge gespeist wird, angelegt im J<ahr> 1841. Nach zweistündigem Marsch erblickt man rechts auf gewaltiger Höhe die einsame Kirche von | Loptschen[48], von wo man (sagte der Führer) die ganze Welt sieht und wo der der letzte Fürstbischof (Vladikai) von Montenegro[49] begraben liegt. | Er wurde zuerst in der Kirche von Cetinje beigesetzt, aber konnte keine Ruhe | hier finden – drei Monate nach seinem Tode er-

45 A Germanized form of Njeguši.

46 Here, Mommsen uses the German word for flintlock; it's unclear if he used the term to illustrate the warlike character of the Montenegrins, or if he just repeated the word choice of his guide.

47 "Morlaken" was a frequently used German term for the Serbo-Croatian people of the Kingdom of Dalmatia that belonged to the crone of Austria. In a frequently used lexicon, the "Morlaken" were characterized as a "great, strong type of people" on a "very low cultural level" (Meyers, Sp. 151).

48 Mommsen speaks about the already mentioned burial chapel of prince-bishop Petar II (1813–1851), situated on one of the peaks of mount Lovćen.

49 Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851) was very involved in the modernization of Montenegro; inter alia, he established the first regular school in Montenegro and installed a modern system of taxation. His poetic work *Gorski vijenac* (*The Mountain Wreath*) is still well known in South-Eastern Europe. "Vladika" is the highest clerical title in Montenegro (Bartl, 1979b).

schien er seinem Nachfolger[50] | und bedeutete ihm, daß er jene Kirche für sich zur Grabstätte erbaut | habe und daß er da liegen wolle, wo er sicher sei, daß die Türken nicht | hinkommen würden ihm den Kopf abzuschneiden; und so geschah es. So | erzählte der Führer. Bald nachher kamen wir an den Rand dieser un- | geheuren Bergmaße und konnten hinabsehen in den von allen Seiten von | Felsen umschloßenen Thalkeßel von Cetinje, der über eine Stunde lang und | eine halbe breit ist und fast ganz flach; ein einziger | Höhenzug durchschneidet sie zur Hälfte, und hinter diesem liegt die Hauptstadt | von Montenegro. Die Aussicht von oben ist prachtvoll. Man sieht über das Thal von | Cetinje weg einen großen Theil des Sees von Scutari[51], links | von diesem die mächtige jetzt noch von Schnee bedeckte Kette der alba- | nischen Berge, rechts auf den See zu laufend drei oder vier | Parallelketten, die von dem akrokeraunischen Küstengebirge[52] gegen den | See zulaufen. Etwas nach 10[53] waren wir im Thal und um 11[54] in Cet- | inje. Das Thal zählt etwa 600 Waffenfähige; die Wohnungen sind aber meist | an dem Felsrand zerstreut und das eigentliche Cetinje, die Hauptstadt des | Landes, besteht nur aus der alten und der neuen Residenz und einer geringen | Anzahl kasernenartig aufgeführten Häusern, in denen die Beamten und | die Dienerschaft wohnt. Die ehemalige Residenz ist ein am Felsen hängen- | des befestigtes Kloster, drüber ein alter runder Thurm, an dem vor Zeiten die Türkenköpfe | angenagelt wurden. Die jetzige, gebaut von dem verstorbenen Fürsten | Danillo, dem ersten, der nicht mehr Bischof sein wollte und der sein Land ganz umgestellt hat, liegt in der Ebene, ein Viereck mit vier runden Thürmen | an den Ecken, gegen einen Angriff ohne Artillerie allenfalls zu vertheidigen, durch- | schnitten von einem langen zweistöckigen Gebäude, in dem die Wohnungen || sich befinden. Der französische Militärarzt[55], der bei dem Fürsten[56] ist, nahm | mich freundlich auf und der Fürst lud mich zu Tische ein, was sehr an- | gemeßen war, da seine Hauptstadt kein Wirthshaus aufzuweisen hat. Ue- | brigens war es da intereßant genug. Es war gerade das Fest des heiligen | Marcus; eine stattliche Prozeßion mit Fahnen an der Spitze, die Popen | mit den Meßbüchern, das Publicum jeder mit einem Bilde in der Hand, | zogen hinauf zum Kloster. Den Fürsten fand ich auf dem Platz, im Halb- | kreis

50 Danilo I Petrović Njegoš (1826–1860) was Petar II's nephew and the founder of the secular principality Montenegro. He followed his uncle's course of rapid modernization and state-building (Bartl, 1974, 371).

51 Lake Skadar (ital. Scutari, Alb. Shkodra) lies on the border between Montenegro and Albania.

52 An old name for the coastal mountain range on the Eastern Adria (Anonymous 1854).

53 10 o'clock am.

54 11 o'clock am.

55 In the "Pfälzer Zeitung" from 6th of September 1865 a "French military doctor Dr. Pancrazi" is mentioned as the prince's personal secretary (Cf. Fn. 3).

56 Nikola I Petrović Njegoš (1841–1921) was the nephew of Danilo I and ruled as prince from 1860 to 1910 and as king from 1910 to 1918. After the First World War, Montenegro was annexed by Serbia and later incorporated into Yugoslavia (Cf. Fn. 3).

umgeben von seinen Leuten; er hielt eben Gericht, denn er ent- | scheidet alles in letzter Instanz persönlich und sah stattlich aus in seiner rothen | Scharlachjacke unter all den kräftigen Gestalten. Vor und bei Tisch ging es | ganz in europäischer Art zu; außer daß weder der Vater[57] des Fürsten, der eigentlich | jetzt regiert, noch seine Frau[58], ein allerliebstes sechzehnjähriges Kind, noch eine | von den andern Verwandten des Fürsten ein Wort französisch oder italienisch | verstanden und daher die ganze Unterhaltung französisch und sich auf den Fürsten, der | in Paris erzogen ist,[59] den Arzt und mich beschränkte. Während des Morgens hörte man | Schüße in der Ferne; es kam die Nachricht, daß die Montenegriner sich wieder einmal | mit den Türken herumschlugen in dem streitigen Gebiet gegen den See zu; | der Fürst begab sich nach Tisch selbst hin um sich danach umzusehen. So geht es hier | alle Tage und alles ist hier Krieg. Ein Haufen türkischer Gefangener liegt hier; | es ist freilich erbärmliches Volk, albanesische Bauern, die die Türken zum Mitgehen | gepreßt haben und von denen man die meisten schon wieder hat laufen laßen. Auf | dem Platz stehen ein Dutzend Kanonen, erbeutet 1859 in der (übrigens durch | niedrige Treulosigkeit) gewonnenen Schlacht von Grahovo.[60] Die damals | erbeuteten Türkenwaffen und die Tafel mit den Gefangenen und | Todten abgenommenen Medaillen und Orden (darunter auch die englische | Krimmedaille[61]) ließ der Fürst hereinbringen, damit ich sie bewundere. Ich schlen- | derte noch etwas in dem Thal herum, das baumleer und waßerarm | ist und großentheils nur eine mäßige Pferdeweide bietet und brach um 3 Uhr[62] | wieder auf. Gegen 5 Uhr[63] waren wir auf der Höhe des Berges; dieselbe Scenen | gingen noch einmal, vermuthlich auf Nimmerwiedersehen dem Auge vorüber. | Als wir nach Njegus[64] kamen, bliesen die Hirtenknaben zum Eintreiben; | gegen

57 Mirko Petrović Njegoš (1820–1867) was the older brother of Prince Danilo I and an important powerbroker in Montenegro (Paunović, 1998, 195).

58 Milena Vukotić (1847–1923) was first Princess and later Queen of Montenegro, and mother of 12 children; among her children-in-law were the kings of Yugoslavia and Italia and a couple of Russian and German princes (Houston, 2002).

59 Nikola was educated at the renown Parisian Lycée Louis-le-Grand (Cf. Fn. 3).

60 Mommsen makes a material mistake here. In fact, the battle took place betwen 11th and 13th of May 1858. The Montenegrins routed the Turks under the leadership of Nikola's father Mirko Petrović Njegoš (1820–1867) (Rastoder et. al., 2006, 122–123). Following this important battle, the European crowns started to support Montenegro's claim of independence from the Ottoman Empire, which was officially recognized in 1878.

61 In the Crimean War, 1853 to 1856, British, French, Sardinian, and Ottoman troops fought together against the Russians. Mommsen seems to imply that one of the captured or killed Turks was in possession of the British Crimea Medal. However, the British Crimea Medal was only awarded to British personnel, whereas the Turkish Crimea Medal was also only awarded to the European allies of the Sublime Porte (Flatow, 1984, 100).

62 3 o'clock pm.

63 5 o'clock pm.

64 A Germanized form of Njeguši.

halb sieben waren wir auf dem andern Abhang, von wo man wieder | das Meer sieht. Einen herrlicheren Sonnenuntergang habe ich selten genoßen; al- | les, was ich den Morgen im Licht gesehen hatte, lag nun vor mir in den glühendsten | Farben. | Der steile Niederweg, auf dem man weit hinab sah, wimmelte von Montenegrinerinnen, die | theils auf Lastthieren, meistens aber auf dem Rücken Korn hinaufschleppten. Mehrere trafen wir, die | also schleppend Klagelieder sangen: Der Vater ist todt, wie wollen wir nun leben? oder auch bitterlich weinten. Auch hier der Krieg. | Der Abstieg war beschwerlich; ich habe nicht leicht einen steileren ge- || macht und stets von Fels zu Fels kletternd oder springend. Um acht | waren wir in Cattaro, wo mein Ruhm nunmehr gegründet war; denn | da die Leute hier weder wißen, was Fußwandern noch was Raschheit ist, | so erscheint es als ein Wunderding in einem anderen Tage diesen | Marsch zu Fuß hin und zurück gemacht zu haben. Ich habe viel Intereßantes | über dies merkwürdige kleine Ländchen zu hören bekommen, das nicht bloß | seit Jahrhunderten sich auf seine eigene Hand der Türken erwehrt, sondern auch | seit ein paar Jahren angefangen hat sich zu disciplinieren und zu civilisieren. Der | vor zwei Jahren in Cattaro ermordete Fürst Danillo[65] ist der Peter der Große von | Montenegro und hat in seiner kurzen Regierung Merkwürdiges[66] geleistet. Es fing | damit an, daß er nicht Fürstbischof sein wollte, sondern Fürst ohne geistlichen | Beigeschmack und damit die alte halb aristokratische Verfaßung des Landes | umwarf. Dann stellte er Ordnung in seinem Land her. Bisher hatten die Monte- | negriner die an der Küste liegenden österreichischen Ortschaften beständig ausgeraubt; er | setzte durch unerhörte Strenge – er soll bei 500 Menschen haben erschießen laßen – es | durch, daß Raub und Diebstahl außer- wie innerhalb der Grenzen aufgehört | haben und dies währt selbst jetzt noch fort, obwohl sein Nachfolger ihm weit- | aus nicht gleichkommt. Man erzählt allerlei Geschichten von ihm, die recht cha- | rakteristisch sind. Er kommt nach Dobrota, einem Dorf bei Cattaro, und läßt ein | altes Bauernweib zu sich kommen, die von seinen Leuten ausgeraubt worden ist. | Sie verleugnet dies; darauf entläßt er das Gefolge, befragt sie allein und | wie sie nun den Schaden angiebt, aber sagt, daß sie sich vor der Rache seiner Leute fürchte, entschädigt er sie | und sagt ihr dann: nun sprich und jene, die Dich geplündert haben, sollen es büßen, | auch wenn der Blitz Dich erschlägt. – Ein Reisender verliert seine kostbare | Pfeife, kehrt um sie zu suchen und findet eben, daß ein Bauer sie dem Fürsten | bringt. Er will ihn belohnen, der Fürst aber ver-

65 Danilo I Petrović Njegoš (1826–1860).

66 In Mommsen's days "merkwürdig" meant "noteworthy" („merkwürdig, adj.", Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, digitalisierte Fassung im Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, <https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemid=M04236>, last access: 2021-12-27).

hindert dies und der Reisende | hat alle Mühe es abzuwehren, daß der Finder nicht 25 Stockschläge dafür bekommt, | weil er die gefundene Sache nicht hat liegen laßen. Als von dem Blei, das der | Fürst gekauft hatte zur Munition, gestohlen wurde, mußte der Dieb in den Versammlungen erscheinen mit | dem Blei um den Hals und zur Frau degradiert, mit dem Weibergürtel und der | Spindel – für einem Montenegriner schlimmer als der Tod. Dies war eine der Ursachen | die zu der Ermord<un>g der Fürsten führten. Sein Nachfolger Nikolaus[67] läßt seinen Vater[68] regieren, | einen habgierigen und grausamen Menschen, und beschäftigt sich selbst mit der | Direction seiner Küche und mit Glanzstiefeln. So schnell gewöhnt man sich ans Prinzenwesen.

67 Nikola I Petrović Njegoš (1841–1921) (cf. Fn. 3).
68 Mirko Petrović Njegoš (1820–1867) (cf. Fn. 23).

THEODOR MOMMSEN V ČRNI GORI (1862)

Jelena KNEŽEVIĆ
Univerza v Črni gori, Filološka fakulteta, Danila Bojovića b.b., 81400 Nikšić, Črna Gora
e-mail: jelenak@ucg.ac.me

Julian KÖCK
Univerza v Bernu, Hochschulstrasse 6, 3012 Bern, Švica
e-mail: julian.koeck@hist.unibe.ch

POVZETEK

Članek tematizira podobo Črne gore v 19. stoletju s perspektive evropskega izobraženca, slavnega nemškega raziskovalca antike in Nobelovega nagrajenca, Theodorja Mommsena, ki je obiskal Črno goro maja 1862 med črnogorsko-otomansko vojno. V pismu, ki ga je naslovil na svojo ženo, Marie Reimer, živo opisuje, kaj je videl in slišal med enodnevnim obiskom Cetinja, kot učenjak skuša ostati objektiven, vendar ohranja superiorni vidik civiliziranega Evropejca. Pričujoča filološka interpretacija Mommsenovega pisma, ki so opira na teoretično literaturo o potopisih in tradicijo potopisne književnosti o Črni gori v 19. stoletju, je pokazala, da to kratko besedilo vsebuje vse elemente potopisne književnosti 19. stoletja in nakazuje značilno podobo Črne gore kot dežele neciviliziranih, a zdravih ljudi, kjer njihova pravila soočajo politiko z resnimi ovirami, ki jih povzročata geografska in politična pozicija dežele. Članku je priloženo Mommsenovo pismo, ki je na tem mestu prvič objavljeno.

Ključne besede: Theodor Mommsen, potopisi, podoba Črne gore, 1862

SOURCES AND LITERATURE:

Andrić, Alexander (1853): Geschichte des Fürstenthums Montenegro: Von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Jahre 1852. Wien, Verlag von J. B. Wallishausser.

Andrijašević, Živko (2006): Montenegro from Ancient Times to the Balkan Wars. In: Andrijašević, Živko, Rastoder, Šerbo & Milivoje Obradović (eds.): The History of Montenegro. Podgorica, Montenegro Diaspora Centre, 9–153.

Anonymous (1854): Akrokeraunische, Berge. In: Herders Conversations-Lexikon. Bd. 1. Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder Verlag, 88.

Anonymous (1861): Südslavische Pläne. Die Grenzboten, 2, 126–136. https://brema.suub.uni-bremen.de/periodical/titleinfo/164818?query=montenegro (last access: 2022-06-26).

Anonymous (1870): Sedi arcivescovili e vescovili residenziali. Annuario Pontifico, 10, 122–232.

Anonymous (1905): Morlaken. In: Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon. 6. Auflage. Band 6. Leipzig, Wien, Bibliographisches Institut, 151.

Badenberg, Nana (2007): Exotismus. In: Burdorf, Dieter, Fasbender, Christoph, Moennighoff, Burkhard, Schweikle, Günther & Irmgard Schweikle (eds.): Metzler Lexikon Literatur. Stuttgart–Weimar, Metzler, 220–221.

Bartl, Gerda (1974): Danilo I. Petrović Njegoš. In: Bartl, Gerda, Bernath, Mathias & Felix von Schroeder (eds.): Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas. Bd. 1, A-F. München, R. Oldenbourg, 371–373.

Bartl, Gerda (1979a): Nikola I. Petrović Njegoš. In: Bartl, Gerda, Bernath, Mathias & Felix von Schroeder (eds.): Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas. Bd. 3, L-P. München, R. Oldenbourg, 320–324.

Bartl, Gerda (1979b): Petar II Petrović Njegoš. In: Bartl, Gerda, Bernath, Mathias & Felix von Schroeder (eds.): Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas. Bd. 3, L-P. München, R. Oldenbourg, 439–441.

Bogojević, Dragan (2001): Viala de Somijer i Mario Serme o Crnoj Gori. Matica, 2, 7/8, 217–246.

Brajović, Saša (2019): Knjaz Danilo I Petrović Njegoš : kultura sjećanja. Matica, 20, 78, 129–156.

Brenner, Peter J. (ed.) (1989): Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur. Frankfurt / Main, Suhrkamp.

Buchowski, Michal (2006): The Specter of Orientalism in Europe: From Exotic Other to Stigmatized Brother. Anthropological Quarterly 79, 3, 463–482.

Bulonj, Alfred (2002): Crna Gora, zemlja i stanovništvo. Podgorica, CID.

Cyprien Robert (1844): Die Slawen der Türkei, oder die Montenegriner, Serbier, Bosniaken, Albanesen und Bulgaren, ihre Kräfte und Mittel, ihr Streben und ihr politischer Fortschritt. Dresden und Leipzig, Arnoldische Buchhandlung.

Darovec, Darko (2017): Blood Feud as Gift Exchange: The Ritual of Humiliation in the Customary System of Conflict Resolution. Acta Histriae, 25, 2, 57–96.

Darovec, Darko (2019): Keine Blutrache bei den Slovenen. Frank Miklošič and the Blood Feud of the Slavs. Acta Histriae, 27, 4, 713–744.

DLA - Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, A: Theodor Mommsen, established in 1955, in Marbach am Neckar.

Duncan, James (1993): Sites of Representation. Place, Time and the Discourse of the Other. In: Duncan, James & David Ley (eds.). Place/Culture/Representation. London, Routledge, 9–56.

Đurašević Miljić, Dragica (2015): Arhitektura u doba kralja Nikole. Matica, 16, 64, 371–398.

Ebel, Wilhelm (1844): Zwölf Tage auf Montenegro. Königsberg, Bon.

Ebel, Vilhelm (2006): Dvanaest dana u Crnoj Gori. Podgorica, CID.

Flaig, Egon (2005): Die verfehlte Nation. Warum Mommsens Rom nicht ans geschichtliche Ziel gelangte. In: Demandt, Alexander, Goltz, Andreas & Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen (eds.): Theodor Mommsen – Wissenschaft und Politik im 19. Jahrhundert. Berlin, De Gruyter, 181–200.

Flatow, Alf F. (1984): The Turkish Crimea Medal. Orders and Medals Research Society Journal, 23, 2, 100.

Ford, Emmett B. (1959): Montenegro in the Eyes of the English Traveler. Sudost Forschungen, 18, 2, 350–380.

Gjonovic, Nicolo Barnaba (1902): Castelnuovo (Hercegnovi). Topographisch geschichtliche Beschreibung. Graz, Deutsche Vereins-Druckerei.

Glajar, Valentina (2001): From "Halb-Asien" to Europe: Contrasting Representations of Austrian Bukovina. Modern Austrian Literature, 34, 1–2, 15–35.

Grimm, Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm (2021): Merkwürdig. In: Deutsches Wörterbuch, digitalisierte Fassung im Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities. https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemid=M04236 (last access: 2021-12-27).

Holeček, Jozef (2002): Crna Gora u miru. Podgorica, CID.

Houston, Marco (2003): Nikola and Milena. King and Queen of the Black Mountain. London, Leppi Publications.

Jezernik, Božidar (2007): Europe and its Other (i. e. The Balkans). Perifèria, 6, 1, 1–17.

Jovanović, Ivona (2016): Francuski jezik i kultura u Crnoj Gori (1830–1914). Podgorica, Univerzitet Crne Gore.

Jovićević, Vladimir D. (1994): Danilov zakonik – snaga države. Podgorica and Priština, Oktoih and Grigorije Božović.

Karadžić, Vuk (1837): Montenegro und die Montenegriner. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der europäischen Türkei und des serbischen Volkes. Stuttgart, Tübingen, J. G. Cotta'scher Verlag.

Kaschuba, Wolfgang (1991): Erkundung der Moderne: Bürgerliche Reisen nach 1800. Zeitschrift für Völkerkunde, 87, 1, 29–52.

Knežević, Jelena & Ana Minić (2019): Montenegro als exotischer Raum in deutschsprachigen Reiseberichten in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ars et Humanitas, 13, 2, 147–162.

Köck, Julian (2021): Theodor Mommsen als Reiseschriftsteller. Über die Forschungsreise durch das Kaisertum Österreich und seine Domänen (1857). History of Classical Scholarship, 3, 1, 325–369.

Kohl, Johann Georg (1851): Reise nach Istrien, Dalmatien und Montenegro. Dresden, Arnoldische Buchhandlung.

Kol, Johan Georg (2005): Putovanje u Crnu Goru. Podgorica, CID.

Komatina, Dragan & Ema Alihodžić Jašarović (2018): Projekti Ivana Meštrovića i Harolda Bilinića na Lovćenu u tadašnjem političkom i ideološkom kontekstu. Prostor, 26, 2 (56), 320–331.

Krause, Friedhilde (2003): Deutsche Reisende über Serbien und Montenegro um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. In: Schubert, Gabriella, Konstantinović, Zoran & Ulrich Zwiener (eds.): Serbien und Deutsche. Traditionen der Gemeinsamkeit gegen Feindbilder. Jena, Erlangen, Palm & Enke, 183–206.

Krivokapić, Marija & Neil Diamond (2017): Images of Montenegro in Anglo-American Creative Writing and Film. Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kšivi, Roman (2016): Putopis. In: Gazda, Gžegož & Slovinja Tinecka Makovska (eds.): Rečnik književnih rodova i vrsta. Beograd, Službeni glasnik, 850–857.

Lammich, Maria (1978): Das deutsche Osteuropabild in der Zeit der Reichsgründung. Boppard m Rhein, Harald Boldt Verlag.

Loidl, Simon (2014): „Zweieinhalb Tage waren wir frei“. Zur literarischen und politischen Rezeption des Matrosenaufstands von Cattaro in Österreich. Jahrbuch für Forschungen zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, 13, 3, 131–151.

Lyberatos, Andreas (2017): Constructing Temporal Otherness: Western Travelers and Timekeeping in The Balkans (16th – 19th c.). Études Balkaniques, 53, 2, 199–213.

Mason, Peter (1998): Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic. Baltimore, London, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Minić, Ana (2020): Njemački putopisi o Crnoj Gori za vrijeme vladavine Petra II Petrovića Njegoša. Doctoral dissertation. Belgrade, University of Belgrade.

Mrkaić, Jelena (2020): Reconstructing Culture through Linguistically Coded Gender Stereotypes – the Case of Petar II Petrović Njegoš Phraseology. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 30, 1, 65–80.

Neigebaur, Johann Ferdinand (1851): Die Südslaven und deren Länder in Beziehung auf Geschichte, Cultur und Verfassung. Leipzig, Costenoble & Remmelmann.

Neumann, Iver B. (1999): Uses of the Other. The “East” in European Identity Formation. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Paunović, Marinko (1998): Srbi: biografije znamenitih: A–Š. Beograd, Emka.

Pavićević, Branko (1963): Crna Gora u ratu 1862. godine. Beograd, Istorijski institut.

Pavićević, Branko (2007): Početak crnogorsko-turskog rata 1862. godine: povodom stogodišnjice. In: Pavićević, Branko (ed.): Studije, rasprave i članci. Podgorica, CID, 601–627.

Pederin, Ivan (1989): Njemački putopisi po Dalmaciji. Split, Logos.

Popović, Olivera (2015): Italijanski putopisi XIX vijeka o Crnoj Gori, doctoral dissertation defended at the University of Montenegro, unpub.

Rastoder, Šerbo & Živko Andrijašević (2006): Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore. Podgorica, Vijesti.

Rebenich, Stefan (2002): Theodor Mommsen. München, Beck.

Roberts, Elizabeth (2007): Realm of the Black Mountain. A History of Montenegro. London, Hurst & Company.

Rückert, Heinrich (1857): Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte in organischer Darstellung. 2 Theile. Leipzig, Weigel.

Sanguin, André-Louis (2011): Montenegro in Rebecca West's Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: The Literature of Travelers as a Source for Political Geography. Geoadria, 16, 2, 253–260.

Schenk, Frithjof Benjamin (2013): Mental Maps. Die kognitive Kartierung des Kontinents als Forschungsgegenstand der europäischen Geschichte. Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG). http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0159-2013052237 (last access: 22-03-06).

Schuster, Jörg (2007): Reisebericht. In: Burdorf, Dieter, Fasbender, Christoph, Moennighoff, Burkhard, Schweikle, Günther & Irmgard Schweikle (eds.): Metzler Lexikon Literatur. Stuttgart–Weimar, Metzler, 640–641.

Sherman, William (2002): Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1720). In: Hulme, Peter & Tim Youngs (eds.): The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 17–36.

Stieglitz, Heinrich (1841): Ein Besuch auf Montenegro. Stuttgart, Tübingen, J. G. Cotta'scher Verlag.

Šistek, František (2009): Naša braća na Jugu: Češke predstave o Crnoj Gori i Crnogorcima 1830–2006. Cetinje–Podgorica, Matica Crnogorska.

Štiglic Hajnrih (2004): Posjeta Crnoj Gori. Podgorica, CID.

Tatar-Anđelić, Jasmina (2017): Nouvelle Revue i Crna Gora 1879–1918. FCJK, Cetinje.

Temizer, Abidin (2018): Omer Lutfi Pasha in Bosnia. Historijska misao, 4, 4, 127–134.

Todorova, Maria (1997): Imagining the Balkans. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Wolff, Larry (1994): Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilisation on the Mind of the Enlightenment. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Vujović, Dimo (1974): Francuski ljekari u Crnoj Gori u drugoj polovini XIX vijeka. Acta historica medicinae, pharmaciae, veterinae, 14, 2, 77–88.

ACTA HISTRIAE • 30 • 2022 • 2

Received: 2020-10-20 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.16

ČEDOMORSTVO U MODERNOJ I SUVREMENOJ CRNOJ GORI

Milena KAVARIĆ
Univerzitet Mediteran, Pravni fakultet-Podgorica, Josipa Broza Tita bb, 81000 Podgorica, Crna Gora
e-mail: milena.kavaric@unimediteran.net

Rajka ĐOKOVIĆ
Univerzitet Crne Gore, Pravni fakultet, Ulica 13 jula broj 2, 81000 Podgorica, Crna Gora
e-mail: rajkadj@ucg.ac.me

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek predstavlja odziv družbe na kaznivo dejanje detomora v dveh obdobjih v zgodovini Črne gore: v času obnove države v drugi polovici 19. stoletja ter v sodobnosti, na začetku 21. stoletja. Na podlagi analize pravnih virov in etnografskega gradiva avtorici rekonstruirata odnos državnih oblasti, tako zakonodajnih kot sodnih, do detomora v Črni gori nekoč in danes. Sredi 19. stoletja je bil detomor pereč problem, pogojen s specifičnimi družbenimi okoliščinami, ki jih je zakonodajna oblast skušala reševati z najstrožjimi kaznimi. Vendar pa so sodišča, kot je razvidno iz neobjavljenih in objavljenih sodb, te ostre normativne določbe omiljevala in so namesto predpisane smrtne kazni za detomor izrekala zaporne kazni. Takemu kaznovalnemu pristopu so konec 19. stoletja sledili tudi predpisi, saj je bila tedaj smrtna kazen spremenjena v zaporno, hkrati pa se je kazala tudi težnja po njenem skrajšanju. Po razčlenitvi sprememb v načinu obravnave detomora v Črni gori v 19. stoletju avtorici v prispevku na kratko preletita tudi sodobne rešitve, naslanjajoč se na analizo sodne prakse med letoma 2008 in 2019, v kateri se detomor obravnava kot privilegirana oblika umora, za katero je predpisana kazen od šestih mesecev do petih let zapora. Analiza sodobne sodne prakse tako pokaže, da se pogosto izrekajo pogojne kazni ali minimalne zaporne kazni za dejanje, ki je privilegirano že z zakonskimi določili. Z empatičnim odnosom sodnikov do storilk kaznivega dejanja detomora se nadaljuje tradicija 19. stoletja, za katero je značilen prizanesljiv odnos do tega zločina.

Ključne besede: Črna gora, neporočena mati, nezakonski otrok, detomor, splav

L'INFANTICIDO NEL MONTENEGRO IN ETÀ MODERNA E CONTEMPORANEA

SINTESI

L'articolo preseta le reazioni sociali davanti al crimine di infanticidio in due momenti decisivi per la statualità montenegrina: nel periodo del rinnovamento nel XIX secolo e nel periodo della riconquistata indipendenza del XXI secolo. Con l'analisi delle fonti legali, nonché del materiale etnografico, gli autori hanno ricostruito l'atteggiamento delle autorità statali, sia quelle legislative che giudiziarie, nei confronti dell'infanticidio nel Montenegro moderno e contemporaneo. A metà dell'Ottocento l'infanticidio era un problema attuale condizionato da specifiche circostanze sociali che le autorità legislative cercavano di risolvere con le più severe punizioni. Tuttavia, come si può vedere dai verdetti inediti e pubblicati, tali rigide disposizioni normative vennero attenuate dai tribunali. Dunque, invece della prescritta pena di morte per infanticidio, veniva inflitta una pena detentiva con la tendenza di ridurne la durata. Dopo aver analizzato i cambiamenti nel trattamento dell'infanticidio nel Montenegro in età moderna, l'articolo fornisce una breve panoramica delle soluzioni contemporanee, insieme a un'analisi della prassi giudiziaria dal 2008 al 2019, in cui l'infanticidio viene affrontato come un omicidio privilegiato per il quale viene prevista una pena detentiva della durata da sei mesi a cinque anni. Infine, l'analisi giuridica attuale indica che per un atto già privilegiato dalla legge spesso vengono inflitte pene sospese o una pena detentiva minima. L'atteggiamento empatico dei giudici nei confronti degli autori di questi crimini è in linea con la tradizione del XIX secolo, caratterizzata da un approccio benevolo.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, madre illegittima, figli illegittimi, infanticidio, aborto

UVOD

Promatrano kroz povijest, muškarci su počinili daleko više kaznenih djela nego žene, zbog čega se utvrdilo mišljenje da je kriminal muška pojava (Lukić, 2019). Ženama kao počiniteljicama zločina u crnogorskoj znanstvenosti nije posvećena dovoljna pažnja, iako u svijetu postoji trend da se ženski kriminal sagledava iz različitih aspekata (Scott et al., 2019).

Najčešće žrtve ženskih zločina bila su lica s kojima su one bile emocionalno povezane. Kako je crnogorska žena tradicionalno bila vezana uz kuću, na tom su području obitavale njezine ambicije i želje, pa su žrtve njezinih zločina rijetko bile osobe izvan braka i obitelji. Obično su to bili muževi i njihova vlastita djeca. U modernoj Crnoj Gori su žene ubijale muževe najviše zato što su i same bile žrtve njihovog zlostavljanja, a djecu - da se oslobode brige o novorođenom djetetu, a ako je riječ o izvanbračnom

djetetu - da izbjegnu sramotu i društvenu osudu kojoj bi bile izložene zbog izvanbračnog majčinstva. Na temelju analize pravomoćnih sudskih presuda može se primijetiti da su čedomorstva u suvremenoj Crnoj Gori uglavnom vezana za žene čija trudnoća nije bila zaštićena brakom: neudate djevojke i udovice.

Izraz čedomorstvo u ovom radu odnosi se na ubojstvo djeteta pri rođenju ili neposredno nakon rođenja od strane njegove majke. Riječ čedo ima u sebi emotivnu notu i asocira na duboku vezu majke i djeteta (Modley, 1998, 5). Pojam čedomorstvo ima povijesni karakter s obzirom na to da se više ne koristi u suvremenom crnogorskom kaznenom pravu, već se koristi izraz "ubistvo djeteta pri porođaju" (članak 146, Krivični zakonik Crne Gore, 2003). Zanimljivo je da stariji spomenici crnogorskog prava ne označavaju čin lišenja djeteta pri rođenju od strane majke s određenim pojmom, već govore o "(u) davljenju" djeteta (Crnogorski zakonici, 1998 I, 104). Dakle, djelo je deskriptivno označeno kroz najčešći čin izvršenja. Imajući na umu gore navedeno, u ovom će se radu koristiti pojam čedomorstvo, koji je udomaćen u crnogorskoj pravnoj literaturi, kako bi se izbjegla terminološka nedosljednost.

U crnogorskoj historiografiji tema čedomorstva je zanemarena s obzirom na činjenicu da je ovaj zločin tijekom 19. stoljeća predstavljao značajan društveni problem. Budući da je čedomorstvo bio čest slučaj kod poroda izvanbračne djece, moglo bi se očekivati da će se pitanje čedomorstva obrađivati u radovima koji se bave položajem izvanbračne djece. Međutim, većina autora koji su analizirali položaj izvanbračne djece u crnogorskoj prošlosti, predstavljali su njihov imovni i statusni položaj (Stojanović, 1967; Kulauzov, 2011), s tim da je bilo autora koji su dodirivali temu čedomorstva (Kulauzov, 2012, 287, 289–290). Stoga je autorima ovog rada bilo inspirativno popuniti tu prazninu i pokušati dati cjelovitiju analizu čedomorstva.

Autori su se bavili temom čedomorstva na dvije razine. Prva se odnosi na sažeti prikaz položaja izvanbračnih majki i izvanbračne djece kako bi se sagledali uzroci počinjenja čedomorstva, nakon čega slijedi analiza bogatog zakonodavstva i sudske prakse iz 19. i početka 20. stoljeća koja se odnosi na ovo djelo. Drugi dio rada, oslanjajući se na relevantnu suvremenu sudsku praksu, ukazuje na trend opadanja broja čedomorstava, ali i na činjenicu da se ovaj zločin čini i danas, odnosno da su prisutni još uvijek neki obrasci ponašanja iz prošlosti kada je u pitanju odnos izvanbračne majke prema neželjenoj djeci.

Za potrebe ovog rada analizirani su i kronološki segmentirani objavljeni i neobjavljeni arhivski materijali, zakonski tekstovi, kao i putopisi stranaca i etnografska građa iz ovog razdoblja. Poseban je kuriozitet prikazivanje određenih normi Bogišićevog *Koncepta Kaznenog zakonika* za Kneževinu Crnu Goru iz 1896. godine, koje do sada nisu bile poznate široj znanstvenoj javnosti.[1] Naime, Bogišić je izradio *Koncept Ka-*

1 Koncept Kaznenog zakonika prvi je put objavio profesor Zoran Rašović u okviru monografije Crnogorska služba V. Bogišića, (Ne)završeni zakonski projekti u izdanju Crnogorske akademije nauka i umjetnosti (Rašović, 2017).

znenog zakonika dok je bio ministar pravosuđa u vladi kneza Nikole (1893.–1899.). Kako je ovaj Bogišićev pothvat do sada bio nepoznat, zadatak je znanosti ubuduće rekontruirati okolnosti i cilj njegove izrade, kao i da mu odredi svoje mjesto u razvoju crnogorskog kaznenog prava.

Za proučavanje ovog problema odabrano je razdoblje 19. i početak 21. stoljeća, jer su ta razdoblja važna za obnovu crnogorske državnosti. Čini se da je ovo bio solidan put koji će dovesti do spoznaje društvene reakcije na čedomorstvo, počevši od neizbježne smrtne kazne do odgođenog izvršenja (kratkotrajne) zatvorske kazne. Kada se u Crnoj Gori pokrene pitanje kaznene politike prema ovom zločinu, a biće pokrenuto jer je već pokrenuto u okruženju (Mrvić, 1996; Novoselec, 2009), korisno je imati uvid u ranija rješenja.

SOCIJALNA UVJETOVANOST ČEDOMORSTVA U 19. STOLJEĆU

Problem izvanbračne djece bio je vrlo aktualan tijekom 19. stoljeća u Crnoj Gori, iako se crnogorsko okruženje smatralo konzervativnim i puritanskim. Na njegovu aktualnost ukazuje činjenica da se tadašnji zakoni i posebni propisi tim problemom bave u velikoj mjeri.[2]

Izvanbračni prijestupi u Crnoj Gori imali su svoju društvenu i povijesnu pozadinu. Nastali su kao posljedica niza okolnosti u temelju povezanih sa opadanjem udjela muške populacije. Naime, velik broj muškaraca gubio je život na bojnom polju u istrebljujućim ratovima sa Turcima,[3] epidemijama, pomorima gladi,[4] četovanjima,[5] a često i u krvnim osvetama. Naime, zaštita života i imovine u crnogorskom društvu dugo se provodi kroz krvnu osvetu (Ergaver, 2016; Darovec 2017; Tepavčević, 2018; Darovec, 2019). Osveta se događala u situacijama kada društveni sukob nije bio ispravno razriješen ili kada je društvo smatralo da nije časno pristati na kompoziciju (Ergaver, 2016; Darovec, 2017, 73; Darovec et al., 2017). Žene su obično bile izuzete iz krvne osvete (Darovec, 2017, 62; Darovec et al., 2017, 406). Ubojstvo žena, kao i djece, smatralo se nečasnim jer oni nisu nosili oružje i princip ravnopravnosti i časti nije dopuštao da oni budu lišeni života (Darovec et al., 2017, 406). Uloga žena u sprovođenju osvete je bila kontradiktorna. Iako žene nisu izravno vršile krvnu osvetu, mogle su se pojaviti kao pokretač osvete kada su muški članovi obitelji oklijevali ili odugovlačili s izvršenjem krvne osvete (Darovec et al., 2017, 408; Mrkaić, 2020, 76). Osim toga, žene su imale značajnu ulogu u prvoj

2 Značajan broj zakonskih inkriminacija u *Danilovom zakoniku* (čl. 71-73); *Naredbi o vanbračnim prestupima* (1884); *Zakonu o vanbračnoj djeci* (1892); *Privremenim pravilima o vanbračnoj djeci* (1894).

3 Samo u crnogorsko-turskom ratu 1862. godine poginulo je i ranjeno je 6.600 mladih Crnogoraca, što je za jednu malu državu kao što je Crna Gora, ogroman postotak (Pavićević, 1963, 387).

4 U pomoru gladi koja je zadesila Crnu Goru 1851. godine umrlo je blizu 1.000 osoba, uglavnom muškarci (Pejović, 1960, 174).

5 Pljačkaški pohodi na tuđe teritorije radi pribavljanja sredstava za opstanak – pljačkaška privreda (Stojanović, 2009, 58).

fazi pomirenja nakon izvršene osvete (Darovec, 2017, 80-81; Darovec et al., 2017, 408). One su pokretale pomirenje noseći teret poniženja zbog toga što je muški član njene obitelji lišio života žrtvu. To poniženje je bilo nužno kako bi obitelj žrtve osjetila neku vrstu moralne satisfakcije zbog nanijete povrede (Darovec, 2017, 70), nakon čega bi se moglo pristupiti pomirenju.

Gospodarske migracije također su utjecale na aktualnost zločina koji su često dovodili do izvanbračne djece. Odlazak radne snage, uglavnom na američki kontinent, početkom 20. stoljeća poprimio je intezivni karakter i nije se mogao spriječiti nikakvim mjerama upravnog karaktera, pa ni samim kneževim utjecajem.[6] U većini slučajeva odlazili su samo muškarci i to oni u punoj snazi, dok je ženska populacija ostajala "na broju", bez muževa, zaručnika i onih za koje su se mogle vjenčati. Dodatni utjecaj na učestalost izvanbračnih prijestupa imala je i borba za učvršćivanje principa nerazrješivosti braka (Stojanović, 1967, 90) koja je proklamirana u članku 67 *Danilovog zakonika*.

Stjecajem takvih okolnosti stvoreni su uvjeti da određeni broj žena, koje stupaju u izvanbračne veze, postanu "pogrešilice".[7] Stoga su izvanbračni prijestupi, bez obzira na konzervativizam Crnogoraca, na neki način bili biološka neizbježnost.

POLOŽAJ IZVANBRAČNE MAJKE I IZVANBRAČNOG DJETETA

Sudbina majke izvanbračnog djeteta ovisila je o spremnosti oca tog djeteta da je oženi, odnosno o snazi njezine obitelji da ga na to prisili (Karadžić, 2017, 90). Čak i kad bi se zaključio brak s ocem izvanbračnog djeteta, čime bi se dijete učinilo zakonitim, to ne bi u potpunosti oslobodilo "pogrešilicu" od prijekora okoline. Jer, ono što je prethodilo zaključenju takvog braka u Crnoj Gori nikada se ne oprašta.[8] Ukoliko takav ishod nije bio moguć, bilo iz pravnih razloga (na primjer, veza s oženjenim muškarcem, rođakom itd.) ili iz nekih drugih razloga (odnos je, na primjer, bio prisiljen), njezin je položaj bio osobito težak. Protjerivanje iz roditeljske kuće bilo je uobičajeno zbog sramote koju joj je nanijela, a ni drugi joj se ne bi usudili dati sklonište. Izvanbračno dijete, u patrijarhalnom okruženju kakvo je crnogorsko, bila je sramota ne samo za djevojku i njezinu obitelj, već i za proširenu obitelj čiju je čast izvrgla ruglu tim sramotnim djelom (Kulauzov, 2012, 285). Posebno bi tim činom narušila ugled i autoritet poglavara kuće: oca, brata, svekra, djevera (Mrkaić, 2020, 70).

Činjenica da on kao "glava" kuće nije imao potpunu kontrolu nad članovima

6 Samo je 1907. godine u Sjedinjenim Državama bilo 15.000 Crnogoraca, što je činilo gotovo 1/10 ukupnog stanovništva ili 1/3 ukupne najsposobnije radne snage (Pejović, 1962).

7 Crnogorsko patrijarhalno društvo osmislilo je velik broj pogrdnih izraza za žene, za koje ne postoje sinonimi u muškom rodu. Jedan od tih izraza je "pogrešilica" – koji označava majku izvanbračnog djeteta (Bogićević, 2010, 407).

8 Senat je 1875.godine uputio dopis jednom kapetanu u kojem je naredio da nitko ne smije ukoriti Iliju G. jer je uzeo ženu kojoj je prethodno "učinio dijete" jer će bit "od suda kastigani" (kažnjeni, prim. autora) (Marković, 1973, 82).



Slika 1: Ulica na Cetinju, glavnom gradu Crne Gore, 1877 (Mary Evans Picture Library).

svoje obitelji, izlagala ga je ruglu i osudi okruženja. Zbog toga je od reakcija muških članova obitelji ova žena najviše strahovala. U takvim okolnostima bila je nekada prisiljena napustiti kuću i skrivati se u špiljama u kojima bi umrla od gladi ili napada zvijeri (Somier, 1994, 88). Ni okolica nije imala milosti prema njoj. Podvrgavali su je upitnim pogledima i podrugljivim komentarima. Stigmatizacija se pojačavala kako bi se širila vijest koja je izazivala porugu. U crnogorskom okruženju koje je osobito cijenilo čednost žene (Mrkaić, 2020, 70) nije bilo lako živjeti i preživjeti.[9] Društveni prijekor, šikaniranje, odbacivanje i nerijetko krvna osveta, doveli su do toga da je samoubojstvo žene često bio jedini izlaz (DACG-VS, 68, 3542).[10] Ukoliko se ne bi odlučila na taj korak, spasonosno rješenje "pogrešilica" je vidjela u skrivanju nezakonite trudnoće i eliminiranju djeteta. Tome je često i pribjegavala kako bi sakrila dokaz svoje izvanbračne spolne veze i tako sačuvala svoju čast. Koliki je bio značaj časti u Crnoj Gori pokazuju i brojne izreke koje su postale dio narodne tradicije i odražavaju svijest da ugled i čast imaju veći značaj

9 Kurt Flerike, koji je 1895. godine boravio u Crnoj Gori, opisuje susret sa jednom djevojkom koja je rodila izvanbračno dijete sljedećim riječima: "Jedno takvo nesrećno stvorenje stoji u jednom selu ispod neke lipe, a oko nje seoski momci i djevojke igraju, izruguju se, na kraju joj skidaju crvenu kapu sa glave i gaze je. Sljedećeg dana se ova sirota djevojka bacila u vodu" (Flerike, 2009, 147).

10 Jovan Popovic Lipovac piše o događaju koji se, kako navodi, dogodio 1860. godine. Djevojka je bratu rekla da je nedostojna biti njegova sestra jer "je nanijela sramotu njihovoj hrabroj kući" (2001, 103). Ustrajno je odbijala otkriti ime mladića sa kojim je zatrudnjela. Na kraju se "bacila sa stijene da ne bi preživjela svoju sramotu" (Lipovac, 2001, 103-104). Brat je naknadno saznao mladićevo ime i ubio ga. Ovim događajem započet je lanac krvne osvete čiji je epilog bio 40 ubijenih i ranjenih ljudi (Lipovac, 2001, 103-104).

nego neke druge vrijednosti, uključujući i život: "Sve za obraz (*čast,* prim.aut.)*,* a obraz ni za što" (Bogišić, 2004a, 527).

Posljedice izvanbračnog odnosa u osnovi su snosile samo izvanbračne majke (Kulauzov, 2012, 293; Marković, 2019, 184). Za njih, kako je slikovito rečeno u članku 74 *Danilovog zakonika*, "nema lijeka ničesova" (Crnogorski zakonici I, 1998, 181). Drugim riječima, gubile su svu vlast nad svojim djetetom, gubile su pravo na uzdržavanje i opremu,[11] ako su bile djevojke, a ako je neka bila udovica gubila je pravo na udovski užitak i ostojbinu.[12] Izvanbračne majke su nekada izlaz tražile u bijegu "preko granice" Crne Gore, u austrougarsko primorje ili Tursku, ovisno o tome čijim je područjima gravitirala regija iz koje je pobjegla. Tako Stana iz Morače (općina Kolašin), nije htjela reći s kim je 1886. godine pogriješila pa je po kazivanju njene majke, pobjegla u Bijelo Polje, koje je tada bilo pod turskom vlašću (DACG-VS, 73, 5273). Stake Jovović iz Vira je 1911. godine, "malo poslje porođaja utekla preko granice a djete je ostalo bez hranitelja", razlog bijega ne može se precizirati iz raspoloživih izvora (DACG-KCMP, 174, 392). Preko granica Crne Gore su nekada odlazile izvanbračne majke nakon što su lišile života neželjeno dijete. Tako je žena Nika Jovova, Anđuša, iz Bjeloša (okolina Cetinja), koja je 1886. godine "rodila bila dijete u seockom lugu a isto u vodi bacila", iako je bila u teškom zdravstvenom stanju,[13] "izvukla se kradom iz varoši" pa je "utekla preko granice t.j. u Austriju" (DACG-VS, 73, 5556). Crnogorske vlasti, u saradnji sa austrougarskim vlastima u Kotoru, preduzele su potrebne mjere kako bi prijestupnica bila lišena slobode.[14] U konačnici, prijestupnica je uhićena i Ministarstvo inostranih poslova Crne Gore je zatražilo od austrougarskih vlasti u Kotoru[15] izručenje ove crnogorske podanice kako bi bila vraćena u Crnu Goru i kažnjena za čedomorstvo koje je počinila (DACG-VS, 79, 3379, 3383).

Za razliku od izuzetno grubog odnosa prema izvanbračnoj majci, državna je vlast, kada je riječ o izvanbračnoj djeci, pokazivala posebnu brigu. Etički razlozi tog doba, utemeljeni na tradiciji, doveli su do humanih zakonskih opredjeljenja prema izvanbračnoj djeci. Njihovi su se interesi štitili relativno učinkovito, uz motivaciju da je

11 Miraz (*dos*).

12 Ostojbina je novčani iznos koji je udovica, u slučaju da napusti suprugov dom, dobijala kao protuvrijednost za trud koji je uložila u muževu kuću (Stojanović, 2009, 229-242).

13 Nakon saznanja da je Anđuša počinila čedomorstvo "vlasti naše stavile su bile ruku na prestupnicu ali budući jako slaba ušled porođaja iz čovječnosti nestavismo je u zatvor, već ju stave pod nadzor dok se ne oporavi. Međutim imenovana iste noći umakne" a kako je u Kotor bio upućen redarstvenik da "pozna među tamničarima Anđušu ženu Nika Jokova iz Bjeloša, koja je optužena za čedomorstvo," jasno je da su čedomorku austrougarske vlasti lišile slobode (DACG-VS, 79, 3383).

14 U sklopu potrage za odbjeglom Anđušom, Ministarstvo vanjskih djela Crne Gore je austrougarskim vlastima u Kotoru poslalo osobni opis prijestupnice: "Godina ima 38, stasa srednjeg, kose crne, obraza dugi, očiju crnih, malih, nosa malog oštrog, drugijeh osobenih znakova nema. U isto vrijeme ponavljamo našu molbu da se imenovana ne bi ukrila, već da se pronađe kako bi izdržala zasluženu kaznu" (DACG-VS, 64, 1126).

15 Grigor Stanojević je pisao o odnosu Crne Gore i Boke u vrijeme dok je Boka bila pod mletačkom i austrougarskom vlašću. Crnogorsku sirotinju privlačila je gospodarski razvijenija Boka i Kotor (Stanojević, 1953, 22), a u kontekstu bjekstva izvanbračnih majki u Boku, čini se da nije isključeno da su imale u vidu taj gospodarski faktor kada su bježale jer nisu mogle živjeti u Crnoj Gori, ne samo zbog siromaštva, nego i zbog počinjenog izvanbračnog prijestupa.

"zlo već počinjeno" i da ga treba sanirati (Stojanović, 1967, 91). Potrebe izvanbračnog djeteta imale su prednost nad interesima njegovih roditelja. Crnogorsko pravo je dozvoljavalo istraživanje izvanbračnog očinstva (Stojanović, 1967, 91), za razliku od tada važećih pravila austrijskog, srpskog ili francuskog prava (Krešić, 2010, 189). Obveza uzdržavanja izvanbračnog djeteta teretila je izvanbračnog oca (Stojanović, 1967, 91). Ukoliko je otac primio izvanbračno dijete u svoju kuću, ono stječe sva prava i obveze kao i njegova bračna djeca (Marković, 2016, 284). Odbije li to učiniti, dijete se predaje majci ili nekoj drugoj ženi na potporu. U tom je slučaju otac dužan platiti 130 talira[16] za uzdržavanje djeteta, što je bila vrijednost veća od vrijednosti prosječne crnogorske imovine (Stojanović, 1967, 94). Ovu praksu potvrđuje i Bogišićev izvjestitelj u odgovoru na anketno pitanje vezano za brigu o izvanbračnoj djeci (Bogišić, 2004b, 58),[17] kao i presude Senata iz toga vremena.[18] U slučaju da je majka imala više ljubavnika pribjegavalo se kolektivnoj odgovornosti u pogledu uzdržavanja izvanbračnog djeteta, jer je u tom slučaju dokazivanje očinstva bilo vrlo teško.[19]

S obzirom na to da se u Crnoj Gori rađao velik broj izvanbračne djece, a posebice je to bilo u porastu u posljednja dva desetljeća 19. stoljeća, država je bila angažirana u pronalaženju novih rješenja za njihovu skrb. U tu svrhu, 1894. godine, osnovan je poseban Fond za nezakonitu djecu u kojem je država izdvajala značajna sredstva za ovu namjenu.[20] Iz sredstava Fonda uzdržavala su se djeca čiji je otac bio nepoznat ili je bio nedostupan državnim tijelima (pobjegao je preko granice) ili koji nije mogao pružiti potporu.

Teška financijska situacija države, kao i odbojan odnos javnosti prema izvanbračnoj djeci s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća, utjecali su na smanjenje sredstava namijenjenih

16 Sredstva za uzdržavanje djeteta dobivaju se od prihoda od očeve imovine ili u konačnici, njenom prodajom. To ilustrira jedna odluka Senata iz 1869.godine kojom se nalaže ocu jednog izvanbračnog djeteta da ustupi dio od prodane imovine "onoj đevojci te joj je učinio dijete" (Jovićević, 1994, 290-291). Inače, talir je bio austrijski novac koji se, uz krunu, pretežno koristio u Crnoj Gori u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća (Đurović, 2008, 363). Tečaj talira u Crnoj Gori određivan je prema austrijskom tečaju na dnevnoj bazi (Šćepanović, 1998, 62). Kao što se vidi iz ovog primjera, crnogorsko pravo je prinudnom prodajom očeve imovine nastojalo osigurati sigurno uzdržavanje izvanbračnog djeteta. Austrijski građanski zakonik propisivao je obvezu izvanbračnih roditelja da uzdržavaju svoju izvanbračnu djecu prema imovinskom stanju (Krešić, 2011, 190). Bilo je to fleksibilnije rješenje u korist izvanbračnih očeva, imajući u vidu da se vrijednost imovine mogla promijeniti na štetu interesa izvanbračne djece.

17 U odgovoru na pitanje o pravima i obvezama izvanbračne djece se osobito ističu prava djeteta: "Otac ili uzme k sebi dijete, te ga hrani, ili treba da plati talijera 130…a dijete preda kakvoi siromašnoj ženi te joj taj interes dae kao naknadu sve dok dijete odraste i postane samosvoje" (Bogišić, 2004b, 58-59).

18 Senat je 26.02.1875. donio presudu povodom izvanbračnog rođenja djeteta Bećira Brajovića i neudate kćeri Pera Đurova koji su priznali da su "imali bludni snošaj". U presudi Senat odlučuje: "da se dijete preda, ženi kakvoj na izdržavanje i na trošak Bećirov" (Marković, 1973, 88-89).

19 Senat je 1874. godine donio presudu prema kojoj je šest muškaraca bilo dužno uplatiti novac za uzdržavanje izvanbračnog djeteta koje je rodila Marica Đ. Senat je "presudio svu šestoricu na zakonsko izdržavanje djeteta, tj. da svi plate 130 talira". Kako je dijete koje je Marica Đ. rodila umrlo, suma od 130 talira pripala je državi (Vuksan, 1935, 327).

20 Izvještaj o troškovima uzdržavanja izvanbračne djece dostavljen Velikom sudu 3.1.1896. navodi da je tijekom 1895.godine "potrošeno za vanbračnu djecu fiorina 10.629.64", što je bio veliki iznos za siromašnu državnu blagajnu (Rajković, 1998, 427).

za uzdržavanje takve djece. Tako je iznos naknade progresivno opadao sa uzrastom djeteta.[21] Kada izvanbračno dijete navrši 12 godina, pravo na uzdržavanje prestaje sukladno *Naredbi Velikog suda kapetanima*[22] *o plaćanju godišnjeg izdržavanja za vanbračnu djecu iz 1896. godine* (Crnogorski zakonici II, 1998, 356-357). Nakon toga dijete je prepušteno samo sebi, odnosno ostalo je na teret svoje izvanbračne majke. Kako je majka u pravilu bila bez imovine, a obitelj je nije podržavala zbog počinjenog djela, zaštita izvanbračne djece sve je više imala formalno značenje. Istodobno, dijete s izvanbračnim statusom bilo je diskriminirano u svakodnevnom životu.[23] Za njega je u narodu usvojen pogrdni naziv "kopile" (Bogišić, 2004a, 291).

U konačnici, žrtve čedomorstva u pravilu su bila izvanbračna djeca, usprkos velikoj brizi države da spriječi izvanbračne prijestupe i počinjenje kaznenih djela usmjerenih protiv života te neželjene djece.

PREVENTIVNE MJERE ZA SPRIJEČAVANJE NAMJERNOG POBAČAJA I ČEDOMORSTVA

Bez obzira kakav je bio društveni tretman namjernog pobačaja i čedomorstva u nekoj državi, posvuda je postojala težnja spriječavanja tih djela. Mjere koje su se primjenjivale razlikovale su se u pojedinim državama. Kako su roditelji često tvrdili da su slučajno zadavili dijete dok su spavali u zajedničkom krevetu, državne vlasti su, u pokušaju da spriječe takve situacije, zabranile spavanje u istom krevetu. Tako se roditelji ne bi mogli pozivati na tu okolnost kao razlog da se oslobode odgovornosti za djetetovu smrt. Primjerice, u Austriji (1784.) roditeljima je bilo zabranjeno spavati u istom krevetu s djecom mlađom od dvije godine, a u Pruskoj (1794.) s djecom mlađom od pet godina (Bacewicz & Friedman, 2020, 410). Ovako definirane mjere nisu se pokazale dovoljno učinkovitima, posebice kada se uvidjelo da je čedomorstvo čin koji ne ovisi samo o volji počinitelja već i o društvenim čimbenicima (Modly, 1998, 5). Inače, sama prevencija čedomorstva ovisila je o širim državnim ciljevima. U okolnostima kada je cilj države povećanje broja stanovnika, prevencija čedomorstva dobiva na značaju i ujedno predstavlja domenu u kojoj se odražavaju promjene u shvaćanju roda, reprodukcije i preventivnih ciljeva kaznenog prava (Michalik, 2006, 53–55).

Posebnu pozornost zaslužuje napuštanje djece kao oblik prevencije čedomorstva. Naime, nije bila rijetkost da se djeca ostavljaju na točno određenom mjestu, primjerice stup kod *Velabrum*-a u Rimu, najčešće na vratima crkve (Radbill, 1987,

21 Dana 4. 12. 1895. godine, Veliki je sud dostavio Rešenje plemenskim kapetanima o novčanim naknadama obiteljima koje podižu izvanbračnu djecu. Do tada su iz Fonda dodjeljivane iste novčane naknade za svu djecu. Ovaj dokument precizira i djelomično umanjuje sredstva za uzdržavanje počev od navršene sedme godine, jer od tad djeca "počinju koliko toliko činjeti koristi istoj kući koja ih je primila" (Rajković, 1998, 557-558).

22 Kapetani u 19. stoljeću bili su lokalne vlasti koje su vršile sudsku i upravnu vlast (Jokić, 2002, 86).

23 Nakon ispitivanja u Srednjem Polimlju i Potarju, Vlahović je otkrio da su izvanbračna djeca oba spola doživotno morala nositi naušnice na lijevom uhu kako bi se razlikovala od bračne djece (1968, 376).

8), tako da se na taj način u određenoj mjeri napuštanje djece dekriminaliziralo. Napuštanje djece u crnogorskom društvu nije se toleriralo kao mogući milosrdniji način da se majka riješi neželjenog djeteta. Majka koja bi napustila svoje dijete bila bi kažnjena kaznom zatvora od jedne do četiri godine prema članku 171 *Krivičnog zakonika za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru* iz 1906 (Crnogorski zakonici IV, 1998, 87). U Crnoj Gori, od kraja 19. stoljeća, prevencija se svela na uspostavljanje pojačanog nadzora nad djevojkama koje su začele dijete izvan braka.

U raspoloživoj građi nalazi se *Naredba* Senata kojom se mjesnom kapetanu naređuje da se djevojci koja je izvan braka ostala trudna pronađe smještaj, jer za nju više nije bilo mjesta u obitelji, te da obitelj u kojoj je smještena nadzire njezino ponašanje kako "ne bi dijete zadavila" (DACG-VS, 26, 1175). Česte pojedinačne naredbe sličnog sadržaja upućene lokalnim kapetanima (DACG-VS, 26, 1175; DACG-VS, 35a, 1698) mogu upućivati na činjenicu da se te naredbe nisu u praksi dovoljno poštovale. To je potaknulo Veliki sud da donese propise koji su ovu materiju uredili na razini zakona koji je bio obvezan za sve. Tako je 1884. godine donešena *Naredba o vanbračnim prestupima* koja u članku 5 nalaže rođacima trudne djevojke da o trudnoći obavijeste nadležnu vlast koja bi nadzirala daljni tijek trudnoće (Crnogorski zakonici II, 1998, 87). Obveza prijavljivanja bila je od velikog značaja jer se smatralo da bi se moglo dogoditi da se iz razloga očuvanja obiteljskog ugleda ova djela ne prijave državnoj vlasti. Također, ovom *Naredbom,* po već ustaljenoj praksi, kapetanima se daju upute za poduzimanje radnji vezanih za otkrivanje očinstva kao i osiguravanje smještaja i uzdržavanje trudnice na račun bludnika.

Ratio ovih odredbi je bio sprečavanje namjernih pobačaja i čedomorstava. Ne može se govoriti o zaštiti prava djeteta na život, jer ideje o ljudskim pravima u tom smislu nisu još bile zaživjele. Nema suštinske sličnosti ni sa rimskim *curator ventris*-om, jer je *curator* postavljan začetom a nerođenom djetetu kako bi se zaštitili njegovi imovinski interesi (Bujuklić, 2006, 542). Štoviše, ni u našem suvremenom pravu nije regulirana osobno pravna sposobnost *nasciturus*-a, nego još uvijek imovinsko pravna u domeni nasljeđivanja (Vodinelić, 2017, 350). Imajući sve to na umu, dužnost vlasti bila je spriječiti izvanbračne prijestupe i njihove negativne posljedice o kojima je sud morao raspravljati bilo u pogledu utvrđivanja očinstva, bilo u pogledu potpore izvanbračnoj djeci, a u krajnjem povodom pobačaja i čedomorstva. Ovakvi propisi bili su u duhu prosvetiteljskih ideja koje su pronašle prikladno tlo ne samo u Crnoj Gori, već i u okruženju, iako u jednom ranijem razdoblju.[24]

24 D. Pastović analizira naredbe koje je tijekom svoje vladavine donijela Marija Terezija (1740.-1780.) kako bi se spriječilo vršenje čedomorstva. Naredbama se predviđa obezbjeđivanje smještaja za siromašne trudnice, potiče otkrivanje izvanbračne trudnoće roditeljima uz obećanje blažih kazni za povredu spolnog morala (Pastović, 2016, 144). Krajem 18. stoljeća imenuju se posebna lica čija je obveza bila da paze na žene koje su začele dijete izvan braka (Pastović, 2016, 144).

NAMJERNI POBAČAJ

Najveća sramota koja je mogla zadesiti obitelj ili bratstvo je rođenje izvanbračnog djeteta. Stoga je izazivanje pobačaja bio jedan od načina "prikrivanja sramote" kojoj su žene u Crnoj Gori bile izložene zbog izvanbračnog majčinstva. Bogišićev izvjestitelj svjedoči da je to činila "djevojka i udovica da sakrije sramotu sebi i rodbini…Kada to udata žena učini, znak je da joj nije muž doma za vrijeme od kada je ostala trudna dok je rodila" (Bogišić, 2004a, 359). Narod je namjerni pobačaj doživljavao kao jedan od najviših grijehova, za čije se počinjenje često nije odgovaralo na sudu jer ga je bilo "trudno (teško, prim. aut.) dokazati" (Bogišić, 2004a, 359). Ipak, u onim slučajevima kada je dolazilo do sudskog epiloga, za pobačaj se kažnjavalo "manje nego za djeteubistvo" (Bogišić, 2004a, 359). Određivanje blaže sankcije za pobačaj može se promatrati kao odraz shvatanja društva da je veću moralnu vrijednost imao život novorođenčeta pa mu je pružalo jaču kaznenopravnu zaštitu nego fetusu.

Namjerni pobačaj i čedomorstvo bili su usko povezani. Žene su smišljale različite načine kako se riješiti neželjenog ploda, a kada tu zamisao ne bi ostvarile, one su novorođeno dijete ubijale.[25] To kazuje da je čedomorstvo predstavljalo "zakašnjeli pobačaj" u slučaju kada je majka tokom trudnoće odlučila da okonča trudnoću (Milotić & Vlačić, 2021, 77). Bogišić je to slikovito predstavio riječima: "Ako ne bi mogle izbiti dijete kakvim pićem otrovnim", a onda bi ga čim "iz materine utrobe izide ugušile i tajno zakopale". Najvažnije je bilo prikriti sram jer "…narod bi više volio i dušu izgubiti, nego na ovome svijetu golemu sramotu javno iznijeti…" (Bogišić, 2004a, 553). Svjesna osude zajednice zbog izvanbračnog začeća, pogrešilica je, kao netko tko je prekršio zakon časti, učinila sve da spere ljagu, porok, koji si je dopustila u trenutku slabosti (Tomović, 2006, 77).

Prvi crnogorski zakonski akti ne bave se tematikom namjernog pobačaja što je i razumljivo s obzirom na činjenicu da su regulirali vrlo uzak krug društvenih odnosa. Kako je pitanje spolnog morala bilo u nadležnosti Crkve, namjerni pobačaj kao način prikrivanja kršenja tog morala, spadao je, zasigurno, toj sferi. U skladu s kršćanskim učenjima o vrijednosti svakog ljudskog života, Pravoslavna crkva ne razlikuje namjerni pobačaj, čedomorstvo i ubojstvo. Shodno kanonu 2 Vasilija Velikog "ona koja namjerno uništava plod potpada pod krivnju za ubojstvo" (Nikopoljski, 1995, 27). Ipak, iz gore navedenog ne može se zaključiti da se u praksi iz sredine 19. stoljeća namjerni pobačaj tretirao kao čedomorstvo. Ovo zbog toga što pravni spomenici toga vremena svjedoče da se vjerska uvjerenja nisu poštovala, na šta ukazuje i članak 14 *Zakona otačastva*: "Poznato je da u Černu Goru i Berdima naš pravoslavni hristijanski zakon teško je upanuo, da narod ne ide u crkvu…i sasvijem ne ispunja hristijanske dužnosti…" (Crno-

25 "Oćerivanje (ovamo bi se reklo otrovanje)" je termin koji označava namjerni pobačaj (Bogišić, 2004a, 553).

gorski zakonici I, 1998, 104). Uz to, Bogišićev izvjestitelj ne pamti niti jedan namjerni pobačaj o kojem se raspravljalo na sudu (Bogišić, 2004a, 359), što bi moglo dovesti do zaključka da je taj čin zbog svoje tajne prirode najčešće ostajao neotkriven. U svakom slučaju, kao što je već spomenuto, ako bi bio otkriven slučaj namjernog pobačaja, kazna bi bila manja nego za čedomorstvo (Bogišić, 2004a, 359).

Krajem 19. stoljeća crnogorske vlasti donijele su naredbe koje su propisivale kazne za izvanbračne radnje i s njima povezana kaznena djela. Naime, po prvi puta se *Naredbom Velikog suda o vanbračnim prestupima* od 1884. godine zabranjuje korištenje otrovnih tvari za poticanje pobačaja. U članku 5 ove *Naredbe* stoji: "ako žena ili đevojka zatrudnjela upotrijebi otrovna sredstva, ili pri rođenju udavi dijete, biće kažnjena, mjesto 5 godina zatvora kao ubica" (Crnogorski zakonici II, 1998, 87). Dakle, umjesto dotadašnje kazne od 5 godina zatvora, koja je u crnogorsku praksu ušla pod snažnim utjecajem *Kaznenog zakonika Kneževine Srbije* (1860), ova *Naredba* za namjerni pobačaj predviđa smrtnu kaznu kao za ubojicu. Doista, *Naredba* nije precizirala kaznu za ubojicu. Međutim, kako članak 27 *Danilovog zakonika* predviđa smrtnu kaznu za ubojstvo (Crnogorski zakonici II, 1998, 173), a ovaj propis nije derogiran kasnijim propisima, proizilazi da se djevojka koja je namjerno pobacila smatra ubojicom svojeg djeteta, pa se ima osuditi na smrtnu kaznu. Oni koji su joj u tome pomagali bili su kažnjavani kao "sudionici ubojstva" (Crnogorski zakonici II, 1998, 87). Iz prethodno citiranog članka 5 *Naredbe* vidljivo je da su sankcije za namjerni pobačaj i čedomorstvo izjednačene, što nije bio slučaj u ranijoj praksi. Ovako strogo normativno rješenje posljedica je značajnog povećanja broja čedomorstava, kako je istaknuto u uvodnom dijelu *Naredbe*, a ne recepcije normi crkvenog prava koje, također, ne pravi razliku između namjernog pobačaja i ubojstva.

Oštrina zakonskog određenja koje je predviđalo smrtnu kaznu za namjerni pobačaj, ublažena je kasnijim propisima. Ti su propisi regulirali namjerni pobačaj i čedomorstvo kao različita djela, pri čemu su propisivali blaže kazne za pobačaj. Za ovo kazneno djelo slijedila je zatvorska kazna, a kako je svaki sljedeći propis predviđao zatvorsku kaznu kraćeg trajanja, može se konstatirati tendencija smanjivanja duljine trajanja zatvorske kazne za namjerni pobačaj.

Godine 1892. donešen je *Zakon o vanbračnoj djeci* koji je u sklopu svojih odredbi sankcionirao pobačaj. Članak 18. ovog Zakona kaže: "Prestupnica, koja pošto opazi trudnoću, upotrebi bilo otrovna sredstva ubačivanjem u sebe, bilo spoljašnja, kao gnječenje, pritiskivanje ili bodenje…da se kazni sa 10 godina robije" (Crnogorski zakonici II, 1998, 323). Dakle, očito je da je kazna blaža, umjesto smrtne kazne ovaj *Zakon* određuje kaznu od 10 godina zatvora. Relativno ubrzo nakon ovog *Zakona*, usvojena su *Privremena pravila o vanbračnoj djeci* iz 1894. godine, koja u članku 35 propisuju tri do šest godina zatvora zbog namjernog pobačaja. Ista kazna predviđena je i u *Krivičnom zakoniku za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru* iz 1906. godine. U članku 168 predviđa se kazna od tri do šest godina za trudnu ženu "koja je spoljna ili unutrašnja sredstva upotreblja-

vala da svoj plod pobaci…" (Crnogorski zakonici IV, 1998, 86). Zanimljivo je primijetiti da je Bogišić u svom *Konceptu Kaznenog zakonika* iz 1896. godine u članku 168 predvidio kaznu zatvora u trajanju do pet godina zbog pobačaja (Rašović, 2017, 574).

Sredstva za izvršenje pobačaja bila su različita. Bogišićev izvjestitelj opisao je kako su žene djelovale da bi se riješile ploda: "Ili piju štogod čim misle da će dijete otrovati, ili se tuku po trbuhu da bi ubile dijete" (Bogišić, 2004a, 359).

Namjera da se riješe neželjenog ploda i vrlo vjerojatne sramote, bila je jaka kod trudnica koje su začele izvan braka. One ne prestaju da "isprobavaju sredstva jedno za drugim, smišljeno i sistematski…pri tome takve žene ne štede sebe gorkih stradanja, nepodnošljivih muka i teških posljedica" (Mijović, 1940, 119). Žene su pokazivale izuzetnu ustrajnost u ostvarenju svoje namjere da se riješe neželjenog fetusa. Ilustrativan je primjer jedne djevojke iz Donje Zete koja se preko trbuha vezala lancem koji je na drugom kraju bio privezan za čamac i tako vezana vukla je čamac ka obali nekoliko sati dok nije počela krvariti (Mijović, 1940, 121).

Na pitanje o pomoćniku u izvršenju pobačaja, Bogišićev izvjestitelj je kazao da je ženama u tome rijetko ko pomagao, "ako ne mati da pokrije ćerinu sramotu" (Bogišić, 2004b, 555). Slučaj sudjelovanja roditelja u obavljanju pobačaja evidentiran je kod Milojke kojoj su, prema njezinom priznanju "roditelji dali da pije neka otrovna sredstva kako bi pobacila" (DACG-KCMP, 13). Budući da su ti pokušaji bili neuspješni, poslali su je u Kotor ženi ("vještakinji") koja je imala iskustva u tom poslu i koja je pobačaj obavila (DACG-KCMP, 13).[26] Okolnosti su ponekad tražile da se uključe i druge osobe. Tako je jedna optuženica u svjedočenju pred sudom opisala tijek događaja i iznijela da su je susjeda i sestra gazile po trbuhu, a kako je dijete ostalo na životu, nastavila je da pije vodu od čemerike i nakon toga je dijete "izgnala" (DACG-VS, 37, 2732).

Sredstva za izvršavanje pobačaja uglavnom su ovisila o zemljopisnom području (Mijović, 1940, 117). U stočarskim područjima koristili su se proizvodi vezani za stoku (sirova ovčja koža postavljena na maternicu, mljevena konjska kopita pomiješana s vodom, upotreba otrova za vukove "rezigalj"); u uzgajalištima su korištena sredstva ovisno o kulturi koja je dominirala, npr. na području uzgajanja duhana korišten je duhanski ekstrakt (Mijović, 1940, 121). Rijetko su žene u plemenskom sustavu tražile pomoć vidarki ili vračara koje su vršile pobačaje (Bogišić, 2004a). Međutim, razgradnjom plemenskog društva i naturalne privrede, ta se navika promijenila. Trudnice su sve više počele tražiti pomoć od žena koje su bile "vične" u izazivanju pobačaja i koje su u tu svrhu koristile razna sredstava poput željezne šiljke "milj" (Mijović, 1940, 124). Uporedo sa modernizacijom društva, mijenjali su se i načini vršenja pobačaja.

26 Bilo je žena koje su išle u Podgoricu "kod nekakve bule za trave radi otrovi đeteta" (DACG-VS, 54, 2032).

O ČEDOMORSTVU

Čedomorstvo je tipičan primjer ženskog kriminaliteta. U ulozi ubice javlja se isključivo žena, majka žrtve. Iako je muškarac bio u istoj mjeri biološki odgovoran za rođenje neželjenog djeteta, njega je okolina štedjela primjenjujući "asimetrični seksualni moral" (Lonza, 2001, 276).

Promatrano kroz povijest, tretman ovog zločina u društvu se mijenjao. Povjesničari koji proučavaju izvornu zajednicu ukazuju da je čedomorstvo bilo prisutno i prije pojave civilizacije te da se postotak ubijene novorođenčadi kretao od 15 do 20% (Williamson, 1978, 63). Treba imati na umu da ovaj odnos prema novorođenom djetetu nije bio odraz obijesti već potrebe da se očuva postojanje ostalih članova kolektiva koji su se osjećali ugroženi rođenjem člana koji dugo nije mogao doprinijeti kolektivu (Milner, 2000, 19).

U drevnoj Grčkoj i starom Rimu bila je uobičajena praksa da se čedomorstvo čini kada su se bebe rađale s manama, jer se smatralo da predstavljaju teret državi (Milner, 2000, 23). Pojavom kršćanstva mijenja se socijalna reakcija na čedomorstvo. Prvi kršćanski car Konstantin je 318. godine proglasio izlaganje djeteta, koje je u ranijim povijesnim razdobljima bilo sinonim za čedomorstvo (Moseley, 1986, 349), kaznenim djelom praćenim smrtnom kaznom (Milner, 2000, 190). Od samih početaka kršćanstva, Crkva je "nepokolebivo i neodstupno branila život" svakog čovjeka (Grigorijatski, 1995, 76). Slijedom toga, srednjovjekovni zakonici propisali su za čedomorstvo smrtnu kaznu s okrutnim načinima izvršenja. Tako su majke koje su ubile djecu pokopane žive, nabodene na kolac, mučene vrućim klještima, zaslijepljene i slično (Oberman, 2003, 6-7). Pod utjecajem bizantskog prava, *Dušanov zakonik* (1349. i 1354.) je predvidio smrtnu kaznu spaljivanjem ("da se sažeže na ognju") za ubistvo srodnika (Taranovski, 1996, 410). Vrlo je izvjesno da je i za čedomorstvo slijedila ova kazna imajući u vidu da je novorođenče srodnik čiji se život štitio vizantijskim propisima koji su zabranjivali ubijanje djece kako ocu, tako i majci (Matović, 2014, 665). Ovakav stav zakonodavstva prema čedomorstvu zadržao se uglavnom tijekom cijelog srednjeg stoljeća. Međutim, socijalni (izvanbračno začeće), ekonomski (siromaštvo) i medicinski razlozi s kraja 19. stoljeća (Oberman, 2003, 9–10) utjecali su na promjenu društvene reakcije na čedomorstvo i ovaj se čin više ne smatra kao teški oblik ubojstva praćen smrtnom kaznom. Danas uživa status privilegiranog kaznenog djela ubojstva u većini kaznenih zakona, uključujući i naše.

Kao i u drugim pravnim sustavima, mijenjao se odnos Crnogoraca prema čedomorstvu, što je u domeni prava imalo najjasniji odraz u politici kažnjavanja za njegovo izvršenje.

ČEDOMORSTVO U CRNOJ GORI U 19. I POČETKOM 20. STOLJEĆA

U nastanku crnogorskog prava, razdoblje dominacije običaja ne može se strogo razlikovati od razdoblja pisanog prava. Polagani društveni razvoj uvjetovao je njihovu simbiozu. Jedan od produkata te simbioze je *Vasojevićki zakon* od 12

točaka iz 1829. godine. Prema tradiciji koja je svoje mjesto našla u radu Ilije Jelića, običajno pravo potvrđeno je u Narodnoj skupštini 1829. godine (Jelić, 1929, 28). Ovaj pravni spomenik sadrži normu koja predviđa kaznu kamenovanjem za ubojstvo izvanbračnog djeteta. U točki 9, članka 21 *Vasojevićkog zakona* stoji: "Ko kopile u vodu udavi da se pod gomilu turi" (Jelić, 1929, 115). Jelić je opisao da su ovu kaznu izvršavali tako što su: "krivca izveli na kakvo pusto mjesto, gdje ima dosta kamenja, i tu bi na njega prvo bacio kamen njegov najbliži srodnik i na taj način razriješio odgovornosti ostale seljane, koji bi osuđenoga posle toga zasuli kamenjem…" (Jelić, 1929, 116).[27]

Podrijetlo kazne kamenovanja nalazi se u vjerskom zakonu, kršćanskom (Weren, 2012, 133) i muslimanskom (Peiffer, 2005, 509). U Crnoj Gori je kazna kamenovanja također vezana za crkvene norme (Stojanović, 2009, 325). Kažnjavanje kamenovanjem često se provodilo nad osobama koje su počinile kazneno djelo protiv polnog morala. Mada je ta kazna prvotno izricana počiniteljima oba spola, s vremenom je postala rezervirana samo za žene, dok su muškarci vremenom blaže kažnjavani za povredu bračnog morala (Marinović, 2007, 221; Stojanović, 2009, 351). Žena nije mogla biti upucana zbog preljuba jer se smatralo sramotnim ubiti ženu vatrenim oružjem (Marinović, 2007, 223). Ovakvo promatranje izvršenja smrtne kazne nad ženama s početka 19. stoljeća u Crnoj Gori ima rodnu dimenziju i "predstavlja pravni odgovor" tadašnjeg crnogorskog društva na "položaj žene kao slabijeg spola" (Grozdanić & Ritossa, 2011, 91). Razlike u kaznenom postupanju prema ženama u odnosu na muškarce nisu specifično obilježje tadašnjeg crnogorskog društva već svih patrijarhalnih društava s jasno definiranim rodnim ulogama (Marinović, 2007, 223). Takvo postupanje je istovremeno odraz pravne nejednakosti žene u domeni kaznenog prava koja je prisutna od Hamurabijevog vremena do kraja 19. stoljeća (Grozdanić & Ritossa, 2011, 91-92).[28]

Prvi crnogorski zakonik, *Zakonik opšti crnogorski i brdski* (1798.–1803.), poznatiji kao *Petrov zakonik*, nije regulirao čedomorstvo kao zasebno kazneno djelo. Sadržavao je relativno mali broj normi, ukupno 33 (Stojanović, 2009; Petrović, 1929). Istina, u njemu dominiraju odredbe kaznene prirode, ali one imaju za cilj održavanje javnog reda i mira, na razini koja je bila moguća u državi koja formira svoj državni aparat (Jokić, 2002, 74).

Zakoni otačastva (1833.), pravni projekt iz vremena Petra II., iako nije stupio na snagu, dragocjen je izvor znanja o razdoblju kada je usvojen, jer odražava socijalno-gospodarske prilike i pravna shvaćanja iz 1840.-ih (Jokić, 2002, 78). *Zakoni otačastva* posebno reguliraju čedomorstvo. Članak 14 navodi: "Djevojka ili udovica, ili žena,

27 Vuk Vrčević, Bogišićev izvjestitelj za Hercegovinu, Crnu Goru i Boku, daje sličan opis kamenovanja koje se početkom 19. stoljeća provodilo u Risnu: "Dovedu pred crkvom djetića i djevojku, te nagnaju dva njihova roditelja da najprvi bace kamen na svoje dijete, a za njima svak muški, koliko ih je onda u Risnu bilo, i oboje ukopaju" (Bogišić, 2004a, 169).

28 Iako u suvremenom pravu vrijedi načelo ravnopravnosti muškaraca i žena, ostaje pitanje je li pravosuđe još uvijek pod utjecajem nekadašnjih koncepcija žena kao slabijeg spola, odnosno utječe li spol počinitelja na određivanje i izvršenje kaznenih sankcija (Crew, 1992, 63; Armstrong, 1999, 68; Zavrsnik, 2011, 196-197; Michalik, 2006, 59-63; Tripković & Plesničar, 2018, 11-19).

koja živi bez muža, ako bi koja iz ovijeh odjetinjila i rodi dijete, pak da s(k)rije sramotu udavila dijete, to svaku takvu ženu i djevojku po čistoj svjedodžbi pred sudom, da se ima osuditi na smert" (Crnogorski zakonici I, 1998, 104). Dakle, davljenje izvanbračnog djeteta praćeno je smrtnom kaznom. Imajući na umu da *Petrov zakonik* nije regulirao čedomorstvo kao zasebno kazneno djelo, kao i činjenicu da *Zakoni otačastva* nisu stupili na snagu, povrede bračnog morala i njihove posljedice, prepuštene su normama običaja ili crkvenog prava. Stojanović ukazuje da se kažnjavanje kamenovanjem primjenjivalo na one koji su zgriješili protiv spolnog morala (2009, 350). Štoviše, sjećanje na kamenovane žene i dalje je prisutno u svijesti ljudi. Tako se "u Crnoj Gori i sjevernoj Albaniji" hrpe kamenja pod kojima su žene gubile život nazivaju "proklete gomile" (Stojanović, 2009, 351).

Kao što je spomenuto, kamenovanje se duže vremena zadržalo u pravnim sustavima koji imaju svoje utemeljenje u religiji (Peiffer, 2005, 509). U Crnoj Gori, teokratski sustav zamijenjen je svjetovnim dolaskom na vlast kneza Danila 1851. godine, što je stvorilo klimu koja nije pogodovala primjeni kazni kamenovanja. Prema riječima Vuka Vrčevića, knez Danilo bio je prisutan na suđenju u kojem je žena osuđena na kamenovanje i izričito se usprotivio izricanju presude: "Pređ te se ljudi, kamenovanja, to je gadno i čuti, a kamo li gledati; neću ja toga više u moju zemlju" (Stojanović, 2009, 351). Uz to, arhaičnu kaznu kamenovanja, koja je po svojoj prirodi kolektivna sankcija koju sprovode članovi kolektiva počinitelja, odnosno oštećenika (Vlahović, 1968, 378; Stojanović, 2009, 351), nije tolerirala utvrđena državna vlast, koja je u velikoj mjeri preuzela kažnjavanje (Mac Cormick, 2014, 288). Stoga, za razliku od *Petrovog zakonika*, koji predviđa kamenovanje kao način izvršavanja smrtne kazne, kodifikacija donesena pola stoljeća kasnije, *Danilov zakonik,* ne legalizira izvršenje smrtne kazne kamenovanjem.

Opšti zemaljski zakonik, poznatiji kao *Danilov zakonik,* datira iz 1855. godine i cjelovitije uređuje područje kaznenog prava u odnosu na svog prethodnika (Danilović, 2000, 9-11), pa u članku 74 uređuje kazneno djelo čedomorstva. Ovaj članak je propisao: "Ako bi se dogodilo da bi koja udovica ili djevojka ili druga žena za pokriti svoju sramotu zabludila da dijete zadavi, to se takova grešnica ima osuditi na smrt" (Crnogorski zakonici, 1998 I, 181). Kao što se može vidjeti, ovo je djelo mogla počiniti samo djetetova majka bez obzira na njezin bračni status. Ovako oštar kazneni tretman prema čedomorstvu od strane crnogorskih zakonodavaca može se povezati s osudom izvanbračnog odnosa. Kako su čedomorstva najčešće bila povezana s razvratom i preljubom, što mu je dalo dodatnu težinu, smatralo se da je čedomorstvo "dvostruki grijeh", tj. zbog svojih postupaka gube se dvije duše, duša zločinca i žrtve (Pastović, 2016, 126). Uz to, u crnogorskim uvjetima za tako oštar tretman čedomorstva postoji dodatni motiv demografske prirode, a to je zabrinutost za povećanje ili barem održavanje postojećeg stanovništva. Naime, zbog visoke smrtnosti, posebno muškaraca, populacija je često ostala ispod razine jednostavne reprodukcije (Stojanović, 2009, 332). U okolnostima kada je bila potreba za svakom muškom glavom, za svakom "puškom"[29] koja bi bila

29 Broj stanovnika računao se prema broju pušaka (Petrović Njegoš, 1933, 50).

u funkciji borbe protiv brojčano jačeg neprijatelja, mogao je biti ugrožen opstanak. Zbog toga su prvi crnogorski zakoni pokušali spriječiti čedomorstvo uz pomoć oštrih kazni. Smrtna kazna za čedomorstvo također je predviđena gotovo tri desetljeća nakon donošenja *Danilovog zakonika* u *Naredbi o vanbračnoj djeci* iz 1884. godine. Dakle, točka 5. *Naredbe* propisuje da majka koja "pri rođenju udavi dijete" biti će kažnjena "kao ubica" (Crnogorski zakonici II, 1998, 87).

Iako su propisi predviđali smrtnu kaznu za počinjenje čedomorstva, ti se propisi nisu primjenjivali u praksi. Naime, sudska je praksa ublažila normativnu oštrinu, o čemu svjedoči Bogišićev izvjestitelj, kao i sačuvane odluke suda. Prema informacijama do kojih je Bogišić došao Anketom iz 1873. godine, majke nikada nisu osuđene na smrt zbog čedomorstva, već su osuđene na kaznu zatvora od 5 do 6 godina, u zavisnosti od okolnosti (Bogišić, 2004a, 359). Sudska praksa potvrdila je gore navedena svjedočenja Bogišićevog izvjestitelja. Slijedom toga, značajan broj presuda Senata i Velikog suda iz sredine i kraja 19. stoljeća ukazuje na takvu kaznenu politiku. Primjerice, Senat je 13.11.1875. kaznio ženu Veliku, suprugu Đure Jankova "koja sama priznade i kaže da je blud proizvodila i dijete udavila", na šest godina robije (Jovićević, 1994, 305-306). Iste je godine Senat osudio udovicu Margitu za čedomorstvo na šest godina zatvora jer "je pogriješila sa svojim djeverom" (Vuksan, 1935, 324). Uz to, ni nakon donošenja *Naredbe* iz 1884. godine, kojom se potvrđuje smrtna kazna za čedomorstvo, ove kazne nisu izrečene. Primjerice, presudom Velikog suda 1885. godine, osuđena je majka koja je udavila svoje izvanbračno dijete na porodu "na 12 godina tavnice" (DACG-VS, 59, 699), a u slučaju čedomorstva koji se desio 1888. godine, Veliki sud je osudio izvanbračnu majku na 15 godina zatvora (DACG-VS, 97, 5398). Navedene odluke potvrđuju primjenu običaja. Ovakvo odlučivanje suda može se shvatiti kao paternalizam sudaca koji su u patrijarhalnom crnogorskom društvu željeli zaštititi ženu kao slabiji spol od strogih kazni. "Hipoteza kavalirstva" (Petrovec & Plesničar, 2011, 278) kao opravdanje za blaže sankcije nije isključena, ali moguće je i drugo objašnjenje. Naime, crnogorski suci su laici koji su dugo sudjelovali u rješavanju društvenih sukoba kroz krvnu osvetu u kojoj je bilo prostora za balansiranje interesa strana u sukobu. Takav pristup bio je moguć jer pravila nisu kodificirana, pa je sucima ostavljen "manevarski prostor", odnosno mogućnost traženja rešenja shodno principima restorativne pravde (Darovec et al., 2017, 402).

Izricanje zatvora umjesto propisane smrtne kazne bila je praksa koja je prethodila novoj fazi kaznene politike prema čedomorstvu. Ova nova faza podrazumijeva propisivanje kazne zatvora za čedomorstvo, kako u naredbama zakonodavne prirode, tako i u *Krivičnom zakonu* iz 1906. Drugim riječima, zakonski propisi s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća privilegiraju čedomorstvo u odnosu na druge vrste ubojstava i propisuju zatvorske kazne s tendencijom smanjenja duljine njihovog trajanja. Tako *Zakon o vanbračnoj djeci* iz 1892. godine propisuje kaznu od 15-20 godina zatvora zbog čedomorstva (Članak 20.); *Privremena pravila o vanbračnoj djeci* (1894.) predviđaju kaznu od 5-15 godina i 3-10 godina za maloljetnike (čl. 37). *Krivični zakon* (1906.) propisuje dva različita kaznena okvira za čedomorstvo, ovisno o tome je li riječ o ubojstvu bračnog ili izvanbračnog djeteta. Članak 164. ovog *Zakonika* glasi: "Mati koja svoje dijete od porođaja za dvadeset i četiri sata ili ako se dokaže da je mučno stanje porodilje još

neprestano trajalo i poslije 24 sata, ubije, da se kazni: 1. Ako je dijete bračno robijom do 15 godina; 2. Ako je dijete vanbračno robijom do dvanaest godina" (Crnogorski zakonici IV, 1998, 86). Pri propisivanju kazne zakonodavac je imao na umu težak položaj majke koja je rodila dijete izvan braka. Takva se majka boji sramote kojoj će biti izložena rođenjem izvanbračnog djeteta (Beccaria, 1984, 115). U konzervativnom crnogorskom okruženju ovo je bio dominantan motiv koji je u simbiozi s drugima, kao što su: strah od nemogućnosti brige o djetetu, strah od roditeljske reakcije, strah da će je ljubavnik napustiti ili napustiti muž (ako dijete nije u braku začeto) itd., stvorio je emocionalnu zbunjenost u izvanbračnoj majci zbog koje je odlučila počiniti čedomorstvo. Imajući na umu da je poglavlje XVI. *Krivičnog zakona* (1906.) naslovljeno kao poglavlje "O ubistvu djece naročito vanbračne", jasno je da su i u prvim desetljećima 20. stoljeća izvanbračna djeca bila najčešće žrtve čedomorstva.

Bogišićev *Koncept Kaznenog zakonika* je imao sličnu sistematiku kao *Krivični zakonik* iz 1906. godine, sa sličnim nazivom poglavlja "O ubijstvu djece, naročito kopiladi". Slično je određenje srži djela jer se kazna propisuje za majku koja nakon "24 sata od poroda dijete svoje ubije", ali su predviđene kazne bile blaže. Bogišić je predvidio kaznu zatvora u trajanju od 10 godina ako ubije bračno, odnosno 6 godina ako ubije izvanbračno dijete (Rašović, 2017, 573). Bogišićev *Koncept* je sadržao kazne identične onima koje su bile u *Kaznitelnom zakoniku Kneževine Srbije iz 1860*. godine (Marinović, 2007, 181), a koje je bio i osnova *Krivičnog zakonika Crne Gore* iz 1906. godine "s namjenama i dopunama prema" crnogorskim "pravnim običajima", kako stoji u samom *Ukazu o proglašenju Krivičnog zakonika za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru* (Crnogorski zakonici IV, 52-53). Kao što se može vidjeti, crnogorski *Zakonik* iz 1906. godine propisuje dulje kazne zatvora od srbijanskog, jer je to više bilo u skladu s crnogorskim okolnostima iz tog razdoblja s obzirom na učestalost ovog djela.

U principu, kada je riječ o načinu ili sredstvima izvršenja, oni su u velikoj mjeri određeni karakteristikama žrtve: što je žrtva nemoćnija, to se na najjednostavniji način koristi fizička sila, bez pomagala (Modley, 1998, 25–26). Stoga ne čudi da su majke ubijale dojenčad goloruke. Gušenje je inače dominantan čin smaknuća, pa je čedomorstvo, kao što je već spomenuto, označeno kao "(u)davljenje" novorođenčeta.

U ranijim povijesnim razdobljima izlaganje djeteta bio je uobičajeni način ubijanja, pa je izlaganje bilo sinonim za čedomorstvo (Moseley, 1986, 349). U Crnoj Gori, međutim, izvjestitelj Valtazara Bogišića tvrdi da su se žene rijetko odlučile izložiti djecu i da "ženska koja nezakonito rodi" prije svoje dijete "zakopala nego bi ga živa ostavila" i prepustila neizvjesnoj sudbini (Bogićić, 2004b, 379). Osim toga, napuštanje djeteta nije oslobađalo majku odgovornosti za dijete. Naime, sukladno *Krivičnom zakonu* iz 1906., čl. 171., stavak 2., ako je majka izložila svoje izvanbračno dijete s namjerom da ga ostavi "pa ma i tako da se odbačenog djeteta život i zdravlje ni po mjestu ni po vremenu ni po drugim okolnostima u opasnost ne dovodi, pa ga ne htjedne na poziv mjesne vlasti ponovo primiti, da se kazni zatvorom do dvije godine" (Crnogorski zakonici IV, 1998, 87). S druge strane, u nekim europskim zemljama, uključujući Sloveniju i Hrvatsku, postojala je mogućnost da majke ostavljaju novorođenu djecu anonimno i bez pravnih posljedica u ustanovi (tzv. "nahodištu") koja je osnovana za zbrinjavanje

napuštene djece (Čeč, 2007, 426; Mišur, 2018, 88–89). Zabrana napuštanja djece u Crnoj Gori potvrda je da je trebalo uspostaviti majčinstvo i, shodno tome, da se majka morala brinuti o svom djetetu. U takvom sustavu pravila, život neželjenog djeteta nije mogao biti spašen kao u drugim sustavima gdje je postojala mogućnost da se dijete nekažnjeno ostavi na čuvanje drugom (Miličević, 1992, 115). Svakako, ovo pitanje je povezano sa shvaćanjem majčinstva i obitelji koje postoji u jednom društvu, kao i sa stupnjem razvoja socijalnih službi, a što nije predmet ovog istraživanja.

Iako je broj čedomorstava varirao iz godine u godinu, oskudne statistike pokazuju da je mračna brojka bila velika. Tako Izvještaj Velikog suda koji je nastao 1887. godine, a odnosi se na stanje iz 1886. godine, bilježi da je tjekom 1886. godine bilo 46 izvanbračnih rođenja, od čega su "*četiri vanbračna djeteta udavljena*" (Rajković, 1998, 313-314). Tijekom 1887. godine rođeno je 61 izvanbračno dijete, a ubijeno sedmoro izvanbračne djece (DACG-VS, 3424). Iz statističkih podataka o rođenima i umrlima za 1909. godinu vidi se da je te godine od 10.061 novorođenčadi 88 bilo vanbračno (Glas Crnogorca, 11. 12. 1910, 4). Iste godine zabilježen je broj od 10 čedomorstava (Glas Crnogorca, 11. 12. 1910, 4.). Međutim, ove podatke treba prihvatiti s rezervom iz nekoliko razloga. Kako nisu registrirana sva izvanbračna rođenja, udio izvanbračne djece u ukupnom broju novorođenčadi ne može se pouzdano utvrditi. Uz to, nisu poznati svi slučajevi čedomorstva zbog tajne prirode samog djela. Naime, čin ubojstva djeteta teško je dokazati, jer u pravilu nije bilo svjedoka, pa je bilo teško utvrditi ključnu činjenicu je li dijete rođeno mrtvo ili umrlo pri porodu ili je ubijeno. Lijepu ilustraciju pruža slučaj iz 1891. godine u kojem sud nije mogao utvrditi je li se smrt novorođenog djeteta dogodila prirodno ili kao rezultat kupanja "u pregrijanoj vodi" (DACG-KCMP, 29), pa je optužena majka oslobođena. Iste je godine udovica osuđena na tri godine zatvora zbog čedomorstva za koje nije bilo pouzdanih dokaza, ali sud se fokusirao na činjenicu da je to bilo nelegitimno začeće i da je optužena "skrivala trudnoću i porod" (DACG-KCMP, 3). Tako je osuđujuća presuda za čedomorstvo prijetila i izvanbračnoj majci koja je sama rodila, pa se pokušala potajno riješiti trupla djeteta, čak i kad je dijete mrtvorođeno ili umrlo na porodu. Zbog takvih i sličnih slučajeva nemoguće je ustanoviti precizan udio novorođene izvanbračne djece i ukupan broj čedomorstava.

POGLED NA ČEDOMORSTVO U CRNOJ GORI IZ SUVREMENE PERSPEKTIVE

Čedomorstvo je prisutno i u savremenim društvima (Tanaka et al., 2017). Postoje zemlje u kojima je čedomorstvo vrlo aktualni problem. Tako se u Indiji i Kini ovaj problem posebno odnosi na ubojstva novorođene ženske djece (Oberman, 2003, 500), dok je u Mađarskoj povezan s nedovoljnom spolnom edukacijom tinejdžera (Oberman, 2003, 500). Ovo su samo primjeri gdje je problem čedomorstva izražen, iako je prisutan i u drugim zemljama. Austrija je na relativno velik broj čedomorstava odgovorila uvođenjem "anonimnih poroda" 2001. godine (Klier et al., 2013; Grylli et al., 2016). Ova vrsta poroda omogućila je ženi da rodi u bolnici bez otkrivanja identiteta, dok se dijete davalo na posvajanje. Bila je to preventivna mjera koja je ispunila očekivanja zakonodavca, budući da je broj čedomorstava značajno smanjen nakon uvođenja anonimnih rađanja (Klier et

al., 2013, 4–5; Grylli et al., 2016, 292–293). Svakako, provedbu zakona o anonimnom porodu u Austriji pratila je medijska kampanja koja je imala za cilj informirati javnost o načinu i posljedicama obavljanja anonimnog poroda. Istodobno, žene se potiču da anonimno kontaktiraju zdravstvenu ustanovu čim saznaju za trudnoću kako bi dobile zdravstvenu skrb i psihološku podršku (Grylli et al., 2016, 292). Osobito je vrijedno istaći da je bilo majki koje su otkrile svoj identitet i uspostavile veze s djetetom (Grylli et al., 2016, 292). U Njemačkoj je uveden "diskretni porod" koji čuva identitet majke, ali bez potpune anonimnosti (Mladenović, 2021). Naime, u savjetovalište za diskretni porod javlja se trudnica koja se ne želi prijaviti/registrirati kao majka djeteta. Toj službi ostavlja svoje osobne podatke koji se čuvaju u tajnosti i dobiva pseudonim koji će koristiti pri porodu u zdravstvenoj ustanovi (Mladenović, 2021, 449). Dijete će imati pravo otkriti identitet majke kada navrši 16 godina. Tim se modelom pokušalo omogućiti majci anonimno rađanje, a djetetu da sazna svoje podrijetlo.

Pravni sustavi reguliraju čedomorstvo kao privilegirani oblik ubojstva[30] ili kao obično ubojstvo.[31] U prvom je slučaju zakonodavac prepoznao postporođajni poremećaj kao stanje koje olakšava položaj čedomorke u odnosu na položaj ubojice. U drugom slučaju, čedomorka se može koristiti klasičnim institucijama kaznenog prava, što može smanjiti njezinu odgovornost. Međutim, smanjuje se broj zakona koji čedomorstvu daju privilegirani karakter (Novoselec, 2009, 332). U okolišu je pravna doktrina pokrenula pitanje opravdanosti privilegiranog tretmana čedomorstva.[32] Naime, prigovaralo se da sama pretpostavka o postporođajnom poremećaju dovodi sve majke u isti položaj, uključujući i one koje su svoju djecu ubile iz sebičnih razloga (Novoselec, 2009, 330; Turković & Maršavelski, 2010, 507). Ti su prigovori doveli do uklanjanja pretpostavke da sam porod stvara poremećaj svakoj majci. Ubojstvo djeteta kao privilegirano ubojstvo postoji samo ako se za određenu majku dokaže snažno mentalno opterećenje zbog trudnoće i poroda (Turković & Maršavelski, 2010, 508).

Važeći *Krivični zakonik Crne Gore,* donešen 2003. godine, (*Službeni list Crne Gore*, br. 3/20) čedomorstvo regulira kao kazneno djelo "ubistva djeteta pri porođaju" (čl.146). Kazna koju predviđa ovaj *Zakonik* je zatvor od šest mjeseci do pet godina. Ubistvo djeteta pri porođaju ima karakter privilegiranog oblika ubojstva. Kazna koju predviđa ovaj *Zakonik* je umanjena u odnosu na onu koja je bila predviđena u ranijim zakonima koji su važili u Crnoj Gori (Srzentić & Stajić, 1970; Stojanović, 2007). U svim zemljama bivše Jugoslavije čedomorstvo ima karakter lakšeg oblika ubojstva za koje je propisana kazna lišenja slobode približne duljine trajanja.[33]

30 Primjerice: Austrija, Finska, Švajcarska, Italija, Švedska, Rusija, Španija, Bugarska, Norveška, kao i sve zemlje bivše Jugoslavije (Kolarić, 2010, 294).

31 Ubojstvo djeteta pri porodu se ne tretira kao privilegovani oblik ubojstva u Njemačkoj od 01.04.1988. godine (Kolarić, 2010, 293).

32 Primjerice: Srbija (Petrović Mrvić, 1996, 65-74; Kolarić, 2010, 308-309; Kolarić, 2015, 161-162) i Albanija (Myftari & Vyshka, 2014, 4).

33 Slovenija, čl. 119, kazna zatvora do tri godine; Srbija, čl. 116, od šest mjeseci do 5 godina čl. 127, kazna zatvora od 1 do 5 godina, Makedonija, čl. 127, od tri mjeseca do tri godine, Hrvatska čl. 112, od 6 mjeseci do 5 godina.

Prema podacima iz Pravosudnog informacionog sistema Crne Gore (*PRIS*), od početka 2008. godine do kraja 2019. godine, pravosnažno su okončana tri sudska postupka za kazneno djelo čedomorstva, odnosno ubojstva djeteta pri porodu (čl. 146). Jedan postupak je okončan 2008. godine (Osnovni sud u Podgorici, K.br.1984/2008, 10. 12. 2009.), drugi 2012. godine (Osnovni sud u Nikšiću, K. br. 1009/2012, 18. 04. 2013), a treći 2016. godine (Osnovni sud u Rožajama, K. br. 67/16, 20. VI 2016.). Izrečene su dvije uvjetne kazne i jedna šestomjesečna zatvorska kazna. Činjenica da su za ovo kazneno djelo izrečene dvije uvjetne kazne i minimalna zatvorska kazna, može ukazivati na empatiju prema majkama koje su počinile ovo kazneno djelo. Takav odnos prema njima prisutan je i u usporednoj praksi i naveo je neke autore da opravdano postave pitanje pravne vrijednosti života novorođenčeta (Damme, 1978). S obzirom na to da je novorođeno dijete subjekt prava, a u suvremenom pravu rastu tendencije ka priznavanju pravnog subjektiviteta embrija, bilo je za očekivati da će izrečene kazne biti strože. Zanimljivo je da je u istom razdoblju vođen postupak za kazneno djelo teškog ubojstva djeteta iz člana 144, stav 2 *Krivičnog zakonika* (Viši sud Bijelo Polje, K 30/2013.). Viši sud u Bijelom Polju je osudio majku na 6 godina zatvora zbog toga što je ubila svoje dijete starosti 6 dana (K 30/2013) shodno navedenom članu, a Apelacioni sud je potvrdio tu presudu u postupku po žalbi (Apelacioni sud u Podgorici, Kž 18/2014.). Iako se u navedenim slučajevima radi o ubojstvu djeteta, vidljiva je razlika u kazni koja proizilazi iz različitih kvalifikacija djela. Naime, u slučaju čedomorstva, odnosno ubojstva djeteta pri porodu, postporođajni sindrom se uzima u obzir dok kod ubojstva djeteta iz čl. 144, stav 2, makar se radilo o djetetu starom šest dana, ovaj sindrom se ne uzima u obzir.

Prema podacima iz spomenutih presuda, počiniteljice ovog djela su majke koje su začele dijete izvan okvira bračnog odnosa. Dakle, žrtva je bila izvanbračno dijete. Očito je da pravno izjednačavanje bračnih i izvanbračnih odnosa nije donijelo nikakve promjene u pogledu uobičajenih žrtava čedomorstva. Međutim, očit je manji broj čedomorstava, čemu je pridonijelo ublažavanje patrijarhalnih percepcija, pa se očuvanje časti kao motiv u modernim uvjetima može smatrati upitnim. Trend smanjenja broja žena osuđenih za čedomorstvo uvjetovan je drugim promjenama u društvu, prvenstveno lako dostupnim kontracepcijskim sredstvima ili dopuštenim pobačajima, kao i oslobađanjem žena od ekonomske ovisnosti o muškarcima . Uz to, treba imati na umu da postoji različito razumijevanje obitelji, jer u njoj više ne dominiraju muž i žena sa svojim potomstvom, već podjednako i izvanbračna majka s djetetom (Korać, 2011, 48). Emancipacija žena i sve pozitivniji odnos prema samohranim majkama trebali bi imati pozitivan učinak na smanjenje učestalosti ovog zločina.

Iako se u teoriji još uvijek lome koplja o privilegiranom karakteru čedomorstava, vidljivo je da u praksi postoji tendencija smanjenja broja čedomorstava. Nedavne statistike to potvrđuju. Tako u 2017., 2018. i 2019. godini nije pokrenut kazneni postupak zbog ubojstva djeteta pri porodu (SS, 2021). Međutim, 2020. godine pokrenuta su dva postupka (MUP, 2021, 53). Koliko su okolnosti uzrokovane pandemijom mogle utjecati, posebno je pitanje. Očito je da se opseg nasilja u obitelji povećao u Crnoj Gori iste godine (UNM, 2020, 47), tako da su ove okolnosti mogle utjecati na pojavu čedomorstva

nakon tri godine otkako je posljednji slučaj okončan u pravosudnom sustavu. Pored toga, osobito je vrijedna pažnje činjenica da su majke, jedna iz sela pored Pljevalja, a druga iz sela u okolici Podgorice, osumnjičene za čedomorstvo u 2020. godini, pošle u bolnicu zbog vrlo teškog zdravstvenog stanja nakon poroda u kućnim uvjetima (Vijesti, 24. 4. 2020, 4; Pobjeda, 19. 8. 2020, 6). Ginekolozi su ukazali na stanje primljenih rodilja, a policija je inicirala potragu koja je rezultirala pronalaskom tijela dvije mrtve beba. Dakle, dva života su ugašena, a još dva su dovedena u opasnost. Svakako, ova dva slučaja, iako ne mogu doprinijeti našoj analizi jer presude tek trebaju biti donesene, ukazuju da je potrebno omogućiti edukaciju i savjetovanje žena u ruralnim područjima kako bi se izbjegle kobne posljedice.

Činjenica da su slučajevi čedomorstva još uvijek prisutni pokazuje da represivno djelovanje nije postiglo svoju svrhu i da je na tom području potrebno preventivno djelovanje. Naime, širom Sjedinjenih Američkih Država postoje zakoni (tzv.“safe haven laws”) koji dopuštaju i reguliraju nekažnjeno napuštanje, odnosno ostavljanje neželjene djece na posebno određenim mjestima kako bi im se spasili životi (Ryznar, 2013, 466; Oaks, 2015, 7). Slična praksa pod nazivom “baby hatches” postoji u pojedinim europskim zemljama i to u Austriji, Njemačkoj, Češkoj, Švicarskoj, Poljskoj i Italiji (Klier et al., 2013, 5). Za razliku od ova dva vida nekažnjenog donošenja i ostavljanja djece, anonimni porod obezbjeđuje trudnici medicinsku pomoć u zdravstvenoj instituciji. Ovakav sustav rađanja postoji u trećini europskih zemalja (Mladenović, 2021, 448). Kao vid prvencije čedomorstva, anonimni porod se u Austriji pokazao kao mjera koja je uticala na smanjenje broja čedomorstava (Klier et al., 2013, 4–5; Grylli et al., 2016, 292–293). Svakako, uvođenje preventivnih mjera i njihovu vrstu treba prilagoditi potrebama i kulturi društva kako bi bile učinkovite.

ZAKLJUČAK

Izvanbračni prijestupi u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća bili su aktualni društveni fenomen. Djelomično su bile objektivno uvjetovane jer je ženska populacija bila brojnija zbog činjenice da se broj muškaraca smanjio zbog krvne osvete, oslobodilačkih ratova i na kraju ekonomske migracije u Ameriku i druge dijelove svijeta.

Žena koja je začela izvan braka bila je izložena preziru okoline koji je potom prenesen na izvanbračno dijete. Suočena s tim teretom, kao i sa strahom da neće moći uzdržavati izvanbračno dijete, pronalazila je izlaz u ubojstvu novorođenčeta. Tako je izvanbračni zločin za mladu crnogorsku državu stvarao dva problema. Prvo je bilo uzdržavanje, a drugo često oduzimanje života izvanbračnog novorođenčeta. Prvi problem riješen je osnivanjem Fonda za izvanbračnu djecu 1894. godine. Sljedeći problem povezan s namjerno izazvanim pobačajem i čedomorstvom bio je predmet normativne aktivnosti u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća koja je rezultirala uvođenjem preventivnih i palijativnih mjera. Lokalne vlasti nadzirale su trudnice za koje se sumnjalo da ugrožavaju život neželjenog djeteta koje je bilo dokaz o izvanbračnom prijestupu. Međutim, zbog tajnosti djela teško je bilo spriječiti čedomorstvo. Imajući to na umu, običaji i zakoni, prijetili su strogim kaznama.

Kamenovanje, koje je *Vasojevićki zakon (1829)* predviđao za čedomorstvo, odraz je shvaćanja da je majka koja je svom djetetu oduzela život, zaslužila ne samo biološku smrt, već i gubitak časti. *Danilov zakonik (1855)* slijedio je ova običajna pravila i predviđao smrtnu kaznu za čedomorstvo. Međutim, izvori kažu da je ovo pravilo *Danilovog zakonika (1855)* ostalo mrtvo slovo na papiru jer sudovi nisu izrekli smrtnu kaznu, već su majku čedomorku osudili na zatvor. Iako smrtna kazna nije izvršena u Danilovo vrijeme, ona nije nestala iz pravnog sustava. Smrtna kazna je bila predviđena i za čedomorstvo i za namjerni pobačaj u *Naredbi o vanbračnoj* djeci iz 1884. godine što je pokazatelj da se država suočila s velikim brojem čedomorstava. Prema izvorima, sudska je praksa i ovaj put umanjila kaznu pa je umjesto smrtne kazne izrečena zatvorska kazna. Zatvor za čedomorstvo prvi je put propisan *Privremenim pravilima o vanbračnoj djeci*, a zatim i u svim narednim aktima. *Krivični zakonik* iz 1906. godine prihvatio je suvremena rješenja na polju kažnjavanja ovog djela i uveo u crnogorsko zakonodavstvo pretpostavku poremećaja uzrokovanog porodom, zbog čega je majka kažnjena blaže od običnog ubojice. Iako je bio napredan za razdoblje kada je donesen, ovaj je Zakonik pružao snažniju kaznenu zaštitu bračnoj djeci, jer je kazna za ubojstvo bračnog djeteta bila kazna zatvora do 15 godina, a za ubojstvo izvanbračnog djeteta do 12 godina. Dakle, *Krivični zakonik* iz 1906. godine uzeo je u obzir da je nezakonita majka bila izložena sramoti i nastojala je zaštititi svoj ugled.

Suvremeni crnogorski kazneni zakon predviđa zatvor za čedomorstvo kao privilegirani oblik ubojstva, kao što je slučaj u većini europskih pravnih sustava. Ipak, danas su se promijenile društvene prilike. Bračna i izvanbračna zajednica imaju isti pravni značaj, a bračna i izvanbračna djeca isti položaj. Bez obzira što su se društvene okolnosti promijenile u korist žena, čedomorstva su, iako u mnogo manjem obimu, dio naše stvarnosti. Sudovi u Crnoj Gori često izriču uvjetnu kaznu za ovaj zločin i pokazuju empatiju prema počiniteljima ovog zločina, koji je već privilegiran propisivanjem kraće kazne u odnosu na ubojstvo.

U domeni čedomorstva postoji prostor za primjenu sustava koji su se pokazali učinkovitima u njegovoj prevenciji. Dapače, u crnogorskoj pravnoj tradiciji praksa nekažnjenog napuštanja djece nije tolerirana, pa je moguće da se sustavi *baby hatches* ne bi mogli primijeniti. S druge strane, činjenica da su 2020. godine dvije majke osumnjičene za čedomorstvo rodile u kućnim uvjetima može navesti na pomisao da bi životi beba bili spašeni da su majke imale mogućnost anonimnog ili diskretnog poroda u zdravstvenoj ustanovi.

INFANTICIDE IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY MONTENEGRO

Milena KAVARIĆ
Mediterranean University, Faculty of Law-Podgorica, Josipa Broza Tita bb, 81000 Podgorica, Montenegro
e-mail: milena.kavaric@unimediteran.net

Rajka ĐOKOVIĆ
University of Montenegro, Faculty of Law, 13 July Street number 2, 81000 Podgorica, Montenegro
e-mail: rajkadj@ucg.ac.me

SUMMARY

This study focuses on the analysis of norms and court practice related to the crime of infanticide in two periods of Montenegrin history, which are significant from the aspect of the restoration of its statehood in the middle of the 19th and the beginning of the 21st century. The authors analyzed legal sources and supplemented them with knowledge preserved in Bogišić's Collections of Montenegrin customs and travelogues from the 19th century. At the same time, it was established that from the middle of the 19th century, the authorities tried to preserve the marital morality, which for a woman meant the life of a good mother and a faithful wife. Deviation from both roles is characteristic of infanticide, with the reaction of society being different. However, what remains the same is the fact that the victims of infanticide are still illegitimate children and that modern judges tend to show additional empathy towards infanticide by imposing suspended sentences. Indeed, a minimum prison sentence was imposed, which does not diminish the impression of empathy present. We pointed out that in Montenegro, as well as in other countries, various preventive measures were applied. In a significant number of European countries, adaptation of old and introduction of new preventive measures continued, while in Montenegro the search for ways to prevent infanticide stopped. It is a space where one should act and choose a modality that would be adequate to social needs. In Montenegrin legal tradition, the practice of unpunished abandonment of children is not tolerated, so it is possible that baby hatches systems could not be applied. In that case, anonymous and discreet delivery modalities could be considered. This article shed light on one segment of female criminality in Montenegro and can be used for a possible assessment of the existing penal policy.

Keywords: Montenegro, unmarried mother, extramarital child, filicide, abortion

IZVORI I LITERATURA

Apelacioni sud u Podgorici (2014): Kž. (Postupak po žalbi) br. 18/2014.

Armstrong, Irene (1999): Women and their ‘uncontrollable impulses’: The medicalisation of women’s crime and differential gender sentencing. Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 6, 1, 67–77.

Bacewicz, Aleksandra & Susan Friedman (2020): Infanticide and the law. In: Shackelford Todd (ed.): The Sage Handbook of Domestic Violence London, SAGE Publications Ltd., 407–422.

Beccaria, Cesare (1984): O zločinima i kaznama. Split, Logos.

Bogićević, Čedomir (2010): Crnogorski pravno istorijski rječnik. Podgorica, Službeni list Crne Gore.

Bogišić, Valtazar (2004a): Građa u odgovorima iz različitih krajeva slovenskoga juga. Podgorica, CID.

Bogišić, Valtazar (2004b): Pravni običaji u Crnoj Gori, Hercegovini i Albaniji. Podgorica, CID.

Bujuklić, Žika (2006): *Forum Romanum*: rimska država, pravo, religija i mitovi. Beograd, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta, Centar za izdavaštvo i informisanje.

Crew, Keith (1991): Sex differences in criminal sentencing: Chivalry or patriarchy? Justice Quarterly, 8, 1, 59–83.

Crnogorski zakonici I-IV (1998): Crnogorski zakonici, 1796.–1916. Pravni akti od značaja za istoriju državnosti Crne Gore. U: Pavićević, Branko & Radoslav Raspopović (ur.): Zbornik dokumenata. Podgorica, Istorijski institut Republike Crne Gore.

Čeč, Dragica (2007): Nasilne detomorilke ali neprištevne zrtve? Spreminjanje podobe detomora v 18. in začetku 19. stoletja. Acta Histriae, 15, 2, 415–440.

DACG, KCMP – Državni arhiv Crne Gore (DACG), Knjaževsko crnogorsko Ministarstvo pravde (KCMP), Protokol presuda Velikog suda za vanbračne prestupe 1890–1891, f. 174.

DACG, VS – Veliki sud (VS), f. 26; f. 35a; f. 37; f. 51; f. 59; f. 68; f. 73; 79; f. 97.

Damme, Catherine (1978): Infanticide: The Worth of an Infant under the Law. Medical History, 22, 1–24.

Danilović, Jelena (2000): O odredbama Zakonika obšćeg crnogorskog i brdskog koje nijesu bile preuzete u Zakonik knjaza Danila. U: Šuković, Mijat (ur.): Dvjesta godina Zakonika obšćeg crnogorskog i brdskog: radovi sa naučnog skupa, Podgorica, 30. oktobar 1998. Podgorica, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 9–23.

Darovec, Darko (2017): Blood Feud as Gift Exchange: The Ritual of Humiliation in the Customary System of Conflict Resolution. Acta Histriae, 25, 1, 57–96.

Darovec, Darko, Ergaver, Angelika & Žiga Oman (2017): The Language of Vengeance: A Glossary of Enmity and Peace. Acta Histriae, 25, 2, 391–432.

Darovec, Darko (2019): Keine Blutrache bei den Slovenen. Franc Miklošič and the Blood Feud of the Slavs. Acta Histriae, 27, 4, 713–744.

Đurović, Mirčeta (2008): Crnogorske finansije. Podgorica, CID, Centralna banka Crne Gore.

Ergaver, Angelika (2016): Pomiritev v običaju krvnega maščevanja: mediacija, arbitraža in obredje »nove zaveze« med strankama v sporu v črnogorskih in albanskih običajih. Acta Histriae, 24, 1, 101–130.

Ergaver, Angelika (2017): "First my Brother, then a Blood-taker, then my Brother Forever". The Efficiency of the Traditional Peace-making Custom in Early Modern Age Montenegro and the Role of the Venetian Authorities in the Peace-making Process. Acta Histriae, 25, 1, 179–207.

Flerike, Kurt (2009): Crna Gora i Dalmacija, pogled u "zemlju kulisa". Podgorica, CID.

Glas Crnogorca. Cetinje, Zbirka Montenegrina NBCG "Đurđe Crnojević", 1873–1922.

Grigorijatski, Grigorije (1995): Samoživost i sloboda. U: Nikčević, Vesna (ur.): Svetinja života i čedomorstvo. Cetinje, Svetigora, 80–83.

Grozdanić, Velinka & Dalida Rittossa (2011): Povijesni razvoj kaznenopravnog statusa žena. U: Grozdanić, Velinka (ur.): Kada žena ubije. Rijeka, Pravni fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci, 15–100.

Grylli, Chryssa, Brockington, Ian, Fiala, Christian, Huscsava, Mercedes, Waldhoer, Thomas & Claudia Klier (2016): Anonymous Birth Law Saves Babies--optimization, Sustainability and Public Awareness. Archives of Women's Mental Health, 19, 2, 291–297.

Jelić, Ilija (1929): Vasojevićki zakon od dvanaest točaka. Beograd, Srpska kraljevska akademija.

Jokić, Ljiljana (2002): Državnopravna istorija Crne Gore. Podgorica, Kulturno-prosvetna zajednica.

Jovićević, Vladimir (1994): Danilov Zakonik-snaga države. Podgorica, Oktoih, Priština, Grigorije Božović.

Karadžić, Vuk (2017): Crna Gora i Crnogorci. Podgorica, CID.

Klier, Claudia, Grylli, Chryssa, Amon, Sabine, Fiala, Christian, Weizmann-Henelius, Ghitta, Pruitt, Sandi & Hanna Putkonen (2013): Is the Introduction of Anonymous Delivery Associated with a Reduction of High Neonaticide Rates in Austria? A Retrospective Study. BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics & Gynaecology, 120, 4, 428–434.

Kolarić, Dragana (2010): Ubistvo deteta pri porođaju kao privilegovano ubistvo. Revija za kriminologiju i krivično pravo, 48, 3, 291–312.

Kolarić, Dragana (2015): Krivična dela ubistva *de lege lata* i *de lege ferenda*, Žurnal za kriminalistiku i pravo, 20, 2, 145–167.

Korać, Radoje (2011): Porodično pravo. Podgorica, (bez izdavača).

Krešić, Mirela (2011): Pozakonjenje izvanbračne djece usljed ratnih okolnosti – naredba hrvatskog bana iz 1917. U: Leutar, Zdravka (ur.): Socijalni rad i borba protiv siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti – profesionalna usmjerenost zaštiti i promicanju ljudskih prava. Zagreb, Zaklada Marija de Mattijas, 185–201.

Krivični zakonik Crne Gore (2003): Službeni list Republike Crne Gore, br. 70/03.

Kulauzov, Maša (2011): Položaj vanbračne dece u porodičnoj zadruzi prema običajnom pravu Južnih Slovena. Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, 45, 3, 543–551.

Kulauzov, Maša (2012): Odredbe o vanbračnoj deci u crnogorskom zakonodavstvu XIX veka. Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, 46, 3, 285–295.

Lipovac, Jovan. (2001): Crnogorac i Crnogorka. Podgorica, CID.

Lonza, Nella (2001): Dvije izgubljene duše: Čedomorstva u Dubrovačkoj Republici (1667.–1808.). Anali Zavoda za povjesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 39, 261–303.

Lukić, Natalija (2019): Nasilnički kriminalitet žena. U: Ignjatović, Đorđe (ur.): Kaznena reakcija u Srbiji: tematska monografija. Beograd, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta, 327–348.

Mac Cormick, Neil (2014): Institucije prava, Ogledi iz teorije prava. Zagreb, Naklada Breza.

Marinović, Svetislav (2007): Kaznena istorija Crne Gore. Podgorica, Crnogorska izdanja.

Marković, Nikola (1973): Brak u Crnoj Gori do 1904. godine. Cetinje, (bez izdavača).

Marković, Savo (2016): Pravni običaji kod Moračana i Rovčana. Podgorica, Književna zadruga Srpskog narodnog vijeća.

Marković, Savo (2019): Kazne beščašća u uporednoj i crnogorskoj pravnoj tradiciji. Podgorica, Književna zadruga Srpskog narodnog vijeća.

Matović, Tamara (2014): Namerni pobačaj i čedomorstvo u vizantijskom krivičnom pravu. U: Rakocija, Miša (ur.): Niš i Vizantija: zbornik radova XII. Niš, Grad Niš, Univerzitet Niš, Pravoslavna Eparhija niška, Niški kulturni centar, 661–672.

Michalik, Kerstin (2006): The Development of the Discourse on Infanticide in the Late Eighteenth Century and the New Legal Standardization of the Offense in the Nineteenth Century. U: Gleixner, Ulrike & Gray, Marion (ur.): Gender in Transition: Discourse and Practice in German-Speaking Europe, 1750–1830. Ann Arbor, Michigan University Press, 51–71.

Mijović, Pavle (1940): Pobačaj na selu u Crnoj Gori. Socijalno medicinski pregled, 12, 116–125.

Milotić, Dunja & Mateo Vlačić (2021): Čedomorstvo u kaznenom zakonu iz 1852. Pravno uređenje i sudska praksa u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji. Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci, 42, 1, 71–90.

Mišur, Ivo (2018): Kraljeva dica u Vrlici. Anali za povjest odgoja, 15/16, 87–94.

Miličević, Miloš (1992): Infanticid-porodičnopravni pristup. Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Nišu, 32/33, 113-118.

Milner, Larry (2000): Hardness of Hart/Hardness of life: The Stain of Human Infanticide, Lanham [etc.], University Press of America.

Mladenović, Tamara (2021): Pravo na anonimni porođaj naspram prava deteta na identitet. Pravni zapisi, 12, 2, 443–463.

Modly, Duško (1998): Metodika istraživanja čedomorstva. Sarajevo, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Fakultet kriminalističkih nauka.

Moseley, Kathryn (1986): The History of Infanticide in Western Society. Issues in Law and Medicine, 1, 5, 345–361.

Mrkaić, Jelena (2020): Reconstructing Culture through Linguistically Coded Gender Stereotypes – the Case of Petar II Petrović Njegoš Phraseology. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 30, 1, 65–80.

Mrvić Petrović, Nataša (1996): Ubistvo deteta pri porođaju. Pravni *život*, 1, 9, 65–74.

MUP (2021): Izvještaj o radu i stanju u upravnim oblastima iz nadležnosti Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova, sa samostalnim organom uprave za 2020. godinu. https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/f1fea6a0-50da-4e0a-a90e-5598c81938df (last access: 2022-06-25).

Myftari, Kreshnik & Gentian Vyshka (2014): Mission impossible: upholding successfully a charge of infanticide in the Albanian legal practice. Journal of Medical Ethics and History of Medicine, 7, 3, 1–5.

Nikopoljski, Meletije (1995): Abortus kao ozakonjeno deteubistvo. U: Nikčević, Vesna (ur.): Svetinja života i čedomorstvo. Cetinje, Svetigora, 15–31.

Novoselec, Petar (2009): Čedomorstvo i teško ubojstvo usmrćenjem djeteta: antinomija u Kaznenom zakonu. U: Turković, Ksenija, Maršavelski, Aleksandar & Sunčana Roksandić Vidlička (ur.): Liber Amicorum Zvonimir Šeparović. Od kaznenog prava do viktimologije. Zbornik radova u čast 80. rođendana profesora. Zagreb, Pravni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 329–344.

Oaks, Laury (2015): Giving up Baby: Safe Haven Laws, Motherhood, and Reproductive Justice. New York, New York University Press.

Oberman, Michelle (2016): Understanding Infanticide in Context: Mothers Who Kill, 1870-1930 and today. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*,* 92, 3, 707–737.

Oberman, Michelle (2003): Mothers Who Kill: Cross-cultural Patterns in and Perspectives of Contemporary Maternal Filicide. International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*,* 26, 493–514.

Oberman, Michelle (2003a): A Brief History of Infanticide and the Law. U: Spinelii, Margaret (ur.): Infanticide: Psychosocial and Legal Perspectives on Mothers Who Kill. Washington, London, American Psychiatric Publishing, Inc., 3–18.

Osnovni sud u Podgorici (2009): K.br.1984/2008. https://sudovi.me/ospg/odluka/708 (last access: 2022-06-15).

Osnovni sud u Nikšiću (2013): K. br. 1009/2012. https://sudovi.me/osnk/odluka/64197 (last access: 2022-06-15).

Osnovni sud u Rožajama (2016): K. br. 67/16. https://sudovi.me/osro/odluka/193122 (last access: 2022-07-15).

Pastović, Dunja (2016): Kažnjavanje čedomorstva na hrvatskom području do kodifikacije kaznenom materijalnog prava 1852.godine. Hrvatski ljetopis za kaznene znanosti i praksu, 23, 1, 121–152.

Pavićević, Branko (1963): Crna Gora u ratu 1862. godine. Beograd, Istorijski Institut.

Peiffer, Elizabeth (2005): The Death Penalty in Traditional Islamic Law and as Interpreted in Saudi Arabia and Nigeria. William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law, 11, 3, 507–539.

Pejović, Đorđe (1962): Iseljavanje Crnogoraca u 19. vijeku. Titograd, Istorijski Institut NR Crne Gore.

Petrović, Petar Njegoš I. (1935): Poslanice. Cetinje, Cetinjsko istorijsko društvo.

Petrović, Radmila (1929): Zakonik Petra I vladike crnogorskog: istorijsko-pravna rasprava. Cetinje, (bez izdavača).

Pobjeda. 19.08.2020. Podgorica, Nova Pobjeda d.o.o., 1944–

Radbill, Samuel (1987): Children in a world of violence: a history of child abuse. In: Helfer, Ray & Ruth Kempe (Eds.): The Battered Child (3rd Edition). Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 3–20.

Rajković, Nikola (1998): Crnogorski sudovi: isprave 1879/1899. Podgorica, CID.

Rašović, Zoran (2017): Crnogorska služba Valtazara Bogišića, (Ne)završeni zakonski projekti. Podgorica, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti (CANU).

Ryznar, Margaret (2013): A Crime of Its Own? A Proposal for Achieving Greater Sentencing Consistency in Neonaticide and Infanticide Cases. University of San Francisco Law Review, 47, 3, 459–486.

Scott, Terri, Brown, Shelley & Kayla Wanamaker (2019): Female Offenders: Trends, Effective Practices, and Ongoing Debates. In: Polaschek, Devon, Day, Andrew & Clive Hollin (eds.): The Wiley international handbook of correctional psychology, 297–314.

Stanojević, Gligor (1953): O vezama Boke i Crne Gore u XVI v. Spomenik odeljenja društvenih nauka, CIII, 5, 21–23.

Stojanović, Petar (1967): Vanbračna djeca i njihovi prirodni roditelji u bivšoj Crnoj Gori. Pravni zbornik, 15, 3, 85–117.

Stojanović, Petar (2009): Ogledi iz crnogorske istorije prava. Podgorica, CID.

Stojanović, Zoran (2007): Krivično pravo: posebni dio. Beograd, Pravna knjiga.

Somier, Viala (1994): Istorijsko i političko putovanje u Crnu Goru. Cetinje, Podgorica, Izdavački centar Cetinje, CID.

Srzentić, Nikola & Aleksandar Stajić (1970): Krivično pravo, Opšti i posebni dio. Sarajevo, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika.

SS – Sudski savjet Republike Crne Gore (2021): Pregled predmeta za član 146-Ubistvo djeteta pri porođaju, 05.04.2021.

Šćepanović, Milovan (1998): O novcu na tlu Crne Gore: (do 1918.g.). Kolašin, Podgorica, Asocijacija sporta, informacija i culture (ASIK), Pobjeda.

Tanaka, Cintia, Berger, William, Valença, Aleksandre, Coutinho, Evandro, Jean Luis, Girardin, Fontenelle, Leonardo & Mauro Mendlowicz (2017): The worldwide incidence of neonaticide: a systematic review. Archives of Women‘s Mental Health, 20, 249–256.

Taranovski, Teodor (1996): Istorija srpskog prava u Nemanjićkoj državi. Beograd, Službeni list SRJ.

Tepavčević, Ivan (2018): Pogledi Valtazara Bogišića na Crnu Goru i crnogorsko društvo, krvna osveta-između tradicije i modernog društva. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia. 28, 3, 495–522.

Tomović, Slobodan (2006): Moralna tradicija Crnogoraca. Podgorica, CID.

Tomašević, Mirna (2014): Obitelj i djeca u Statutu Dubrovačke Republike: osvrt na čedomorstvo, napuštanje i posvojenje djece. Pravnik, 47, 1, 95, 73–97.

Tripkovic, Milena & Mojca Mihelj Plesnicar (2018): Women's crime and punishment worldwide. In Plesničar, Mihelj Mojca, Šelih, Alenka & Katja Filipčič (eds.): Ženske in kriminaliteta: Značilnosti ženske kriminalitete in družbeno odzivanje nanjo. Ljubljana, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 9–25.

Turković, Ksenija & Aleksandar Maršavelski (2010): Nacrt posebnog dijela novog Kaznenog zakona - pregled pet glava. Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu, 17, 2, 503–551.

UNM (2020): United Nations Montenegro: Izvještaj o brzoj procjeni socijalnog utucaja epidemije COVID-a 19 u Crnoj Gori. https://montenegro.un.org/en/download/49558/90471 (last access: 2022-03-10).

Vijesti. 24.04.2020. Podgorica, Daily Press, 1997–

Viši sud u Bijelom Polju (2013): K. br. 30/2013. https://sudovi.me/vsbp/odluka/67810 (last access: 2022-06-15).

Vuksan, Dušan (1935): Crnogorski praviteljstvujući Senat. Zapisi, 8, 6, 327–330.

Vlahović, Petar (1968): Vanbračno dete i neke njegove osobine po našem narodnom predanju. Referati XIII Kongresa Saveza folklorista Jugoslavije, Skopje, 373–378.

Vodinelić, Vladimir (2017): Građansko pravo, uvod u građansko pravo i opšti deo građanskog prava. Beograd, Pravni fakultet Univerzitet Union Beograd, JP Službeni glasnik.

Weren Wim (2012): The Use of Violence in Punishing Adultery in Biblical Texts (Deuteronomy 22:13–29 and John 7:53–8:11). U: Villiers, Pieter & Jan Willem van Henten (ur.): Coping with Violence in the New Testament. Leiden, Brill, 133–150.

Williamson, Laila (1978): Infanticide: An Antropological Analysis. U: Kohl, Marvin (ur.): Infanticide and the Value of Life. Buffalo, New York, Prometheus, 61–75.

Završnik, Aleš (2011): Feministicka kritika prava i kaznenopravnog sustava**.** U: Grozdanić, Velinka (ur.): Kada žena ubije. Rijeka, Pravni fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci, 195–225.

Received: 2017-09-04 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.17

THE CONTRIBUTION OF FIRST TEACHERS OF FRENCH AT PETROVIĆ'S COURT TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY AND THE AFFIRMATION OF MONTENEGRO IN EUROPE

Ivona JOVANOVIĆ
University of Montenegro, Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management, Stari grad 320, 85330 Kotor, Montenegro
e-mail: ivonaj@t-com.me

Jasna POTOČNIK TOPLER
University of Maribor, Faculty of Tourism, Cesta prvih borcev 36, 8250 Brežice, Slovenia
e-mail: jasna.potocnik1@um.si

ABSTRACT

The paper explores the role and contribution of the first foreign teachers of French in Montenegro, to their students/rulers – last three sovereigns of the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty, to Montenegrin society as a whole and to the affirmation of Montenegro in Europe. The paper chronologically relates to the period of rule of Petar II Petrović- Njegoš, Danilo I and Nikola I, to whom the aforementioned Romance language instructors did not transfer merely a knowledge of language, but also much other substance formed from different views and perspectives on the world, thus contributing to the emancipation of Montenegrin society. Through their efforts to modernise Montenegro and strengthen its sovereignty, as well as their publications and political engagement during events critical to Montenegrin history, they contributed to its reputation and popularisation throughout Europe. The research is based on facts found by studying archive and library materials, and on analysis of periodical publications, travel writings, and documents of a memoir/autobiographical character, which significantly contributes to the originality of the article, where the conclusions of the new analysis are presented and represent a significant contribution to the findings published so far.

Key words: Montenegro, 19th century, Montenegrin rulers, teachers of French, travel writing, autoethnography, branding

IL CONTRIBUTO DEI PRIMI INSEGNANTI DI FRANCESE ALLA CORTE DEI PETROVIĆ ALLA TRASFORMAZIONE DELLA SOCIETÀ E L'AFFERMAZIONE DEL MONTENEGRO IN EUROPA

SINTESI

L'articolo indaga il ruolo e il contributo dei primi insegnanti di lingua francese straniera nel Montenegro ai loro studenti-sovrani - gli ultimi tre sovrani della dinastia Petrović-Njegoš alla società montenegrina nel suo insieme e all'affermazione del Montenegro in Europa. L'opera è cronologicamente legata al periodo di governo degli ultimi

tre sovrani della dinastia Petrović Njegoš, a cui questi romanzieri non trasferiscono esclusivamente conoscenze linguistiche, ma anche altri numerosi contenuti plasmati da atteggiamenti e visioni del mondo differenti, contribuendo alla emancipazione della società montenegrina. Attraverso il loro impegno per la modernizzazione e la sovranità del Montenegro, attraverso le loro pubblicazioni e l'impegno politico in eventi chiave della storia montenegrina, hanno contribuito alla sua reputazione e divulgazione in Europa. La ricerca si basa su fatti ottenuti attraverso lo studio di materiali archivistici e librari, periodici e memorie di carattere autobiografico. L'originalità è rappresentata dall'analisi di alcune pubblicazioni periodiche e documenti di carattere commemorativo o carattere autobiografico, non ancora analizzato. Le conclusioni della nuova analisi sono presentate per la prima volta in questo articolo e rappresentano un importante aggiornamento dei risultati finora pubblicati.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, XIX secolo, sovrani montenegrini, insegnanti di lingua francese, scrittura di viaggio, autoetnografia, branding

INTRODUCTION

This article[1] focuses on autoethnographic texts, analysed from the perspective that reveals the social and diplomatic contribution of the first foreign teachers of French at Petrović's court in Montenegro in the second half of the 19th century. Referring to publications of which two are signed by French language teachers Henri Delarue and Charles Emile Piguet in which their thorough knowledge of Montenegrin reality is demonstrated, the article emphasizes the specific circumstances under which these foreign intellectuals came to Montenegro, and presents the characteristic environment in which they built their relations with Montenegrin rulers and members of their families. The permeation and intertwining of these relations based on mutual trust took place primarily through the French language and almost always resulted in joint action, with the aim of strengthening and affirming Montenegro in the international arena.

As an independent state, Montenegro was recognized in 1878 at the Berlin Congress. However, at the end of the First World War, when Montenegro was

1 The article was partly written within the framework of a scientific research project cooperation between Slovenia and Montenegro entitled Cultural Tourism as a Tool for Sustainable Development of Rural Areas no. "BI-ME / 21-22-020" funded by Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).

annexed to Serbia within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the great powers, led by France, were not in favor of preserving its independence. After the restoration of Montenegrin independence in 2006, this fact had a negative impact on the interest in studying the French language in Montenegro, especially in those parts of Montenegro where, like the former capital of Cetinje, the spirit of radical sovereignty was expressed (Jovanović, 2017, 114). In this context, the intention of the authors is to draw readers' attention to the first Francophone teachers in Montenegro and to their efforts in the processes of deciding on Montenegro's borders.

Firstly, a short description of Montenegro in the 1830s is needed. At that time, the Old Montenegro without any towns, had a population of 100,000 (Milaković, 1835, 48), and it was confined to a karst territory of no more than 3,000km². Grémaux (1984, 673) described it as "curious segmentary tribal society of peasant-pastoralists". Due to its position, it was under the crucial influence of three big empires: Turkey, Austria and Russia (Savić-Rebac, 1957/2020). With still undefined borders, the principles of European and national law were not applied to Montenegro in international relationships. Montenegro's capital Cetinje, situated at the foot of the Mount Lovćen, consisted of around a dozen of scattered thatched houses. There was also a fortified monastery, in which Prince-Bishop Petar II Petrović, a poet and philosopher (1830–1851), resided.

To such an *exotic* environment (Knežević & Minić, 2019, 147), remote from major European cultural centres, the Prince-Bishop brought from Trieste Antide Jaume, a teacher of French, justifying his wish to learn the language by the increasing number of visits of foreigners and the need to communicate outside of his country (Milović, 1964, 56). With the help of his instructor who also became his loyal friend and ideological advisor, Njegoš managed to acquire a good command of diplomatic language (Nenadović, 1998, 307), which facilitated for him numerous convocations and influence on elite literary as well as political circles in Austria, Russia and Italy. With Jaume's assistance, Njegoš started to read great works of world literature translated into French (Kilibarda & Knežević, 2017, 26) and discuss Voltaire's works, translate Lamartine's verses (Stojanović, 1928, 56), and learn how to play billiards and chess (Jovanović, 2016, 36–38).

His heir, Prince Danilo I (1851–1860), also needed to learn French to draw the attention of Europeans to the thankless position of his country and the need for its international recognition. That is why in 1856, on the recommendation of Hyacinthe Hecquart, a French consul in Shkodër, and after being talked into it by his educated and energetic wife Darinka Kvekić, originally from Trieste, Njegoš invited to Montenegro a French secondary school professor, Henri Delarue, who taught him French until 1859 while working also as his secretary. Delarue took part in the Battle of Grahovac in May 1858, which brought Montenegro de facto sovereignty.

Contrary to his predecessors, the Montenegrin Prince/King[2] Nikola I (1860–1918) had the privilege not just to learn French in Paris, where he obtained his education, but also to govern a state that gained official international recognition. The population of Cetinje rose to some 1,500 and the smallest European capital was gradually beginning to look like a small town (Rastoder et al., 2006, 1; Andrijašević, 2013, 197). The Montenegrin sovereign was not only a francophone, but also a Francophile, a connoisseur and admirer of French Romantic era literature who also tried his hand at translating it.[3] To his newly built court he brought a Swiss teacher for his sons, Charles Emile Piguet, who stayed in Cetinje during the last two decades of the 19th century. As a true devotee to Montenegro, he made it beholden by representing its interests in Switzerland, working for the affirmation of its sovereignty.

French-Montenegrin foreign-political relations in the mentioned period occupied the attention of some researchers, among which the historians Dimitrije Vujović, Andrija Lainović, and the philologist Krunoslav Spasić stand out (Cf.: Spasić, 1988; Vujović, 1971; Lainović, 1956). One of the most important experts in Njegoš's life and oeuvre Jevto Milović dedicated a large part of his research work to collecting materials about Peter II Petrović Njegoš and his period of life in the Zadar archives. Milović's works describing the arrival and stay of Njegoš's French teacher Antide Jaume in Montenegro were a valuable source for writing this paper, since this is a period for which an insignificant number of travelogues were available. One of the authors of this paper studied and systematically presented, in a bilingual monograph entitled *French Language and Culture in Montenegro (1830–1914)*, the study and knowledge of French in the former Montenegro, where attention is drawn to the pronounced presence of French *art de vivre* in Petrović's court (Jovanović, 2016).

Relying on the historical facts presented in the mentioned publication, the primary sources for this research were autoethnographic texts (memoirs, diaries, travel writing texts) written by foreigners and French educators travelling around Montenegro almost two centuries ago. Among the sources analysed for this paper are until now unanalyzed memoirs of two of the three Francophone pedagogues: a memoir by the French teacher and court secretary Henri Delarue published in Paris in 1862 and a Swiss court preceptor Charles Emile Piguet dating from 1905. This paper additionally illustrates the work of the first French teachers in Montenegro by numerous observations of their contemporaries, including the Swiss writer and painter William Ritter and his almost unknown work of exceptional literary value written in French in 1895, as well as the autobiographical work of the famous Serbian writer Simo Matavulj, who, in addition to ethnographic facts, is rich in specific humour. There are also numerous observations by those authors whose works are primarily of documentary

2 Prince Nikola was proclaimed king in 1910.

3 In addition to translating lyrical poems occasionally, Prince/King Nikola I also adapted from French the prose tale *Les aventures du dernier Abencérage* by the French Romantic author René de Chateaubriand in 1888.

value, such as the writings of French archaeologist F. Lenormant, Italian botanist B. Biazoletto, French physician A. Boulogne and German travel writers H. Stieglitz, J.G. Kohl and G. Rasch.

In these texts the relationship of their experiences and stories to culture and cultural practices are highlighted (Holman Jones et al., 2016). Some of the writers decided to include into their publications a critique of the circumstances they encountered. In addition to representing valuable knowledge of the past, they are also valuable ethnological, historical and anthropological sources (Kavrečič, 2011) that express various views (Alú & Hill, 2018). According to Holman Jones et al. (2016, 38), they act "as a mirror or reflection of life and living in ways that are useful for contemplation". All the analyzed texts have in common that they are "about the experience of travel and visits to 'other' places" (Robinson, 2004, 303). Through qualitative analysis of these autoethnographic texts, information on beliefs, commonly practiced behaviors, cultural values, social trends (Holman Jones et al., 2016), and political circumstances are provided. Based on that the contribution of the first foreign teachers of French at Petrović's court to social and diplomatic development of Montenegro in the second half of the 19th century is evaluated.

The research approach in this paper is qualitative as it is based on a deeper understanding and analysis of documents from the past. Having in mind the historical background of the work, we used the historical method to illustrate the Montenegrin reality of the 19th century, more precisely the period related to the rule of the last three sovereigns from the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty. The original documentation in the paper is presented by the descriptive method, while the observation and comparison of autoethnographic records try to look at the phenomena and issues analyzed in the paper.

ANTIDE JAUME, NJEGOŠ'S TEACHER OF FRENCH

Despite gaining his education sporadically and unsystematically, and despite the fact that he grew up in scarcity in an area without any primary schools, the Montenegrin poet and prince-bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851) was able to speak and write in several languages (Banašević, 1929, 193). Since the neighboring areas were under the governance of the Republic of Venice until 1797, and Austria during his lifetime, the Prince-Bishop learned Italian and German. However, he had the best command of Russian, probably because of its similarities to his native tongue. Nevertheless, of all languages of which he had a good command, Njegoš spent most of his time and money on learning French (Jovanović, 2016, 30).

The biggest credit for Njegoš's good command of French is undoubtedly due to the unusual French teacher Antide Jaume, whom Njegoš met in Trieste in July 1837 after returning from Saint Petersburg. Njegoš came into contact with him following the recommendation from the French Consul in Trieste, Colonel André Nicolas Levasseur, who took the position from the French novelist Stendhal. Jaume, who

was originally from Tarascon in southern France, had been living in Trieste for three years, making a living by giving private French lessons. He was married to Francesca Bortolotti, a Triestina of Slovenian origin. Jaume also gave French lessons to Njegoš, who was satisfied with Jaume's teaching, and invited him to travel to Cetinje for a period of two years for a high fee of one gold coin per day (Milović, 1964, 54).

During the period in question, it was not easy to get papers and enter Montenegro. Due to the suspicion of the Austrians that he was a revolutionary and a political agent (Milović, 1964, 53), Jaume, accompanied by Francesca, experienced difficulties in obtaining permits and visas for his stay in Montenegro, and decided to enter it illegally. In December 1837, Jaume and Francesca obtained passports from the French Consulate in Trieste that allowed them to go to Shkodër via Kotor. Jaume had told the Trieste police that he was going to Kotor to visit his wife's family, and after that to Shkodër to deliver confidential letters from Paris to the French consul (Kolendić, 1948, 242).

Jaume and his wife Francesca came to Kotor by ship from Trieste on 2 January 1838. Because of Francesca's health problems and the cold climate in Cetinje, Jaume managed to arrange temporary accommodation for his wife in Kotor, in Austrian territory, where they stayed in the distinguished house of the Austrian Court President Karl Zirk, giving private lessons to his children in return for their accommodation and food (Milović, 1964, 52).

When Jaume came from Kotor to Cetinje following a narrow, steep and meandering path on 22 January 1838, he was 35 years old (Milović, 1964, 52). In the Cetinje plain, surrounded by the karst slopes of the Lovćen mountains, he found a settlement consisting of a monastery on a hill and a few stone houses. In this frugal environment providing no comfort, Jaume managed in just a couple of weeks to make friends with the Montenegrin ruler, who started to count on his teacher by confiding to him and asking him for advice (Spasić, 1988, 45).

In his reports, the Austrian Chief Magistrate of Kotor Ivačić claimed that Njegoš began to immediately introduce reforms to his court, under Jaume's influence. Despite opposition from the Montenegrin chieftains, Njegoš moved from the monastery, which had been the residence of Montenegrin prince-bishops for centuries, to a newly built residence called *Biljarda* (Milović, 1951, 4). The building, which was built in less than a year, was finished during Jaume's stay in Cetinje. The new court, or rather the new house as it was called in the beginning, was built with financial support from Russia in accordance with the plans provided by the Russian emissary Jakov Nikolajevič Ozeretskovsky. In addition to the three rooms used by Njegoš from autumn 1838 for his residence and for receiving guests, this elongated one-storeyed building painted in white also housed the first school, offices of the Montenegrin Senate established by Njegoš, and a printing house. The name of this building, which reminded some travel writers of a hangar (Lenorman, 2002, 41; Lekić, 1982, 69), and others of a military post (Štiglic, 2004, 113) or fortress (Raš, 2001, 41) comes from the deep impression made on people's imagination by the importing and setting up of the first billiard table, which was not easy to carry on

the steep and impracticable path from Kotor. Njegoš ordered the table in Vienna in 1839, so as to place it in the central room of his residence, probably after his teacher of French, Antide Jaume, taught him how to play this game (Milović, 1964, 67).

In the 19th century, billiards[4] was a very popular game in France, where many billiard clubs existed. The origin of the game is linked to the French King Louis XI who due to his back pain and inability to play cricket on grass, which was very popular at the time, commissioned an artist carpenter working with ebony, Henri de Vigne, in 1469 to make the first billiard table, which he then used to decorate his Bastille palace. The French form of billiards without pockets practiced by Njegoš is called Carambole[5] after a red ball that is used for the game in addition to cues and two other balls.

When describing the situation found at the residence in 1840, the German writer Heinrich Stieglitz talks about billiards as the only form of entertainment for Njegoš's tribal members in the gloomy atmosphere in Cetinje at the time:

> *While I was walking down a narrow corridor, I met everywhere armed men, and through an open door of a larger chamber I saw several senators with short fur coats thrown over their shoulders playing billiards. The eyes of the ones standing around and observing the game were moving left and right faster than the balls on the table, and with their energetic gestures they were following and commenting on the quick moves of both of the players, making it look like a real war was going on* (Štiglic, 2004, 85).

That year, the English travel writer and Egyptologist John Gardner Wilkinson visited the Prince-Bishop at his court. In his texts, he referred in particular to the hall where the billiard table stood:

> *Exits from all chambers lead to a single long corridor with the Prince-Bishop's rooms situated at its end. The most impressive of them is the billiard hall that also serves as a hall for holding audiences, dining hall and a reception room. The walls of the billiard hall are decorated with rifles and other weaponry. The Prince-Bishop adores both playing billiards and observing others playing it. Some of his guardsmen or his adjutant often entertain him with their skills* (Raš, 2001, 47).

Even rare memories of the Prince-Bishop in the memoirs of Prince/King Nikola I, who ruled Montenegro from 1860, are related to billiards. As Njegoš forbade children to watch the game, little Nikola, whose 'greatest joy was to enter the billiard saloon', hid under the billiard table on one occasion fearing he would get caught (Bogdanović, 2013, 220).

---

4 From French *bille*: a ball made of hard material, from the 16th century the ball used for billiards.

5 The word *Carambole* comes from Portuguese and refers to an exotic fruit of a round shape and purple colour.

Apart from these testimonies, we can also add that the billiard hall was decorated with a portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte (Kol, 2005, 90) whose reforms and code were admired by the Prince-Bishop. Moreover, in his personal notebook *Bilježnica* (Jovanović, 2015) there are 25 pages of verses of French Romantic poets written down by Njegoš, including the following verses of Victor Hugo dedicated to Napoleon:

Toujours Napoléon, éblouissant et sombre,
Sur le seuil du siècle est debout (Les Orientales)[6]

Napoleon, ce Dieu dont tu seras le prêtre. (Les Feuilles d'automne) [7]

D'être Napoléon, l'empereur radieux (Les Feuilles d'automne) [8]

In addition to billiards, a game previously unknown to the Montenegrins, it is also believed that Jaume taught the Prince-Bishop to play chess (Milović, 1964, 67). Nevertheless, in the testimonies of foreign travellers no reference was found to any of them seeing him sitting at a chess board.

Furthermore, it seems that the Prince-Bishop started to wear civilian clothes after being talked into it by his teacher of French. 'Despite being a religious leader, he rarely wore bishop's apparel…' wrote Guillaume Depping in 1853 in his comments in the French magazine *Illustration* (Spasić, 1988, 217). Another text under the pen of the German writer Johan Georg Kohl, who met Njegoš in Cetinje in 1851, contains the following description of the Prince-Bishop:

> *He wore an Italian broad-brimmed straw hat, tight black silk uniform, light black silk cassock thrown over his back, and had a nice long stick in his hand. He did not look to me like a prince-bishop or ruler of heroic mountain people, but more like a Venetian patrician or (because of his shallow straw hat) rich Spanish plantation owner from South America* (Kol, 2005, 123).



Fig. 1: Njegoš and the billiard table at Biljarda (Drawing by Mr Henry Layard, an English travel writer who visited Billiards in 1839. It is in a private collection in Paris).

6 *Always Napoleon, both dazzling and sombre, Is standing at the threshold of this century (Les Orientales).*
7 *Napoleon, that God whose priest you will be (Autumn Leaves).*
8 *To be Napoleon, the dazzling emperor (Autumn Leaves) (Jovanović, 2015, 40, 44).*

After a smaller house was built at the end of May 1838 near the Cetinje Monastery for the Jaumes (Bjazoleto, 2004, 77), Antide's wife moved from Kotor to live in Montenegro. Based on a report from the Austrian police, which kept Njegoš's official correspondence under surveillance, it is clear that Antide and Francesca were well-informed of Njegoš's affairs and official correspondence. The Austrians pointed out that Jaume praised Montenegro in his correspondence, that he was loyal to revolutionary ideas, and hostile to the Austrian authorities (Milović, 1964, 57). Considered a spy, Jaume was mentioned in the Austrian newspaper *Algemeine Zeitung* on 26 September 1838, where his strong influence on the ruler of Montenegro was brought up in a negative context (Milović, 1964, 60). It should be noted that Jaume's stay in Montenegro took place during the period of intensive work of a committee for the boundary demarcation between Austria and Montenegro, to which Njegoš often expressed objections. With the Protocol on the Border Line, established without the mediation of the Ottoman authorities, signed in July 1841 Austria as the first European country recognised Montenegro's sovereignty (Rastoder et al., 2006, 226).

In March 1839, the first disputes arose between Njegoš and Jaume, who asked for a pay rise, which Njegoš refused. Jaume left Montenegro in July of that year together with his wife and took an Austrian steamship from Kotor to Zadar after going through considerable back and forth to obtain an Austrian return visa. With Njegoš's recommendation to the Russian court (Milović, 1964, 54) Antide and Francesca went via Trieste and Vienna to Russia, where Jaume continued to teach French in Kiev after passing a professor's exam (Milović, 1964, 65–66).

THE FRENCHMAN HENRI DELARUE AT PRINCE DANILO I'S COURT

After Njegoš passed away in 1851, Prince Danilo I took over the Montenegrin throne. He ruled to August 1860, when he was mortally wounded by an assassin in Kotor. Contrary to his predecessors in terms of foreign affairs, the sovereign of Montenegro turned to France, which had strengthened its position in Europe by defeating Russia, the biggest ally and protector of Montenegro up until then, in the Crimean War. An important role in the pro-French orientation of Montenegro during the period was also played by the Prince's wife Darinka (Cf.: Vujović, 1968). Due to her excellent command of the French language and European manners, the newly appointed French consul in Shkodër Hyacinthe Hecquart, who was also accredited for Montenegro, was especially fond of the Princess (Lainović, 1956, 200). As an experienced diplomat, Hecquart became well acquainted with Montenegro during his mission, popularising it in Europe in his scholarly articles published in prestigious French scholarly journals.[9]

Following the example of his predecessor, the Montenegrin ruler decided to start learning French, which is why he looked for someone to teach him at the end of 1855.

9 Les Wassoevitch, tribu habitant la Haute Albanie, *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algerie et des Colonies* (1857), Mémoire sur le Monténégro, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1856.

Upon the recommendation of the French consul in Shkodër, Henri Delarue, came to Montenegro where he became the Prince's business secretary and a great and loyal friend of Princess Darinka (Davril, 2003, 7–8).

Henri Delarue was a professor from the renowned French Collège de Juilly, a royal academy situated in the vicinity of Paris and established in 1638, which, at the time, promoted very avant-garde teaching methods that prioritised understanding the learning content rather than mere memorising in their work with students. As the son of a physician, he first studied at the École Polytechnique with an ambition to serve in the navy, and later worked as an accountant at the Longitudes Bureau at the Paris Observatory (Davril, 2003, 7). The French diplomat, writer and Slavist Adolphe d'Avril (signed under the pseudonym Cyrille), who knew Delarue well, stated that he was endowed with a strong physical constitution, which certainly made him suitable for travelling to the harsh Balkans (Davril, 2003, 5).

Henri Delarue came to Cetinje via Shkodër in 1856 and he stayed in Montenegro for three years. In order to prove to Europe that it should recognise the sovereignty of Montenegro, he initiated, acting as Prince's secretary, a visit to Paris in 1857, during which he accompanied the Prince and Princess. The French Emperor Napoleon III received the Montenegrin ruler several times in a special audience and promised full support in the protection of Montenegrin interests (Lainović, 2007a, 258; Lainović, 1932, 12).

In 1862, Delarue's book titled *Le Monténégro (histoire, descriptions, moeurs, usageI.)*, which is a significant source of Montenegro's history, was printed in Paris. That same year this testimony of Delarue's stay in Montenegro was published also in the French journal *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algerie et des Colonies*. The book was translated and published in Montenegro in 2003 under the title *Crna Gora – istorija, opis, naravi, običaji, zakonodavstvo, političko uređenje, zvanična dokumenta i spisi.*[10]

In the first part of his book, Delarue informs the reader of the specific position of Montenegro in the Balkans in relation to its neighbours in the light of fighting the Turkish enemy for five centuries. Considering that the Serbs who went over to the Turkish side (most of which live in Bosnia, according to him) were responsible for such a long existence of Turkish authority in the region, Delarue admires the courage of the small Montenegrin people to defend their religion and freedom, and calls them the moral leaders of the Serbian people. Despite the poverty, soil infertility and lack of roads, Delarue admires the work and diligence of the Montenegrins, their dignity, sociability, and especially their love for their country. He gives special credit to the last Montenegrin rulers from the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty, who were aware that the interest of the people was above tribal interests, and that the introduction of reforms gradually changing the customs was a necessity strengthening patriotism. According to Delarue, the establishment of the borderline between Montenegro and Austria in 1841 was the best proof of the persistence of the Montenegrin people in their fight for independence.

10 The book was translated by Marina Vukićević and published by CID – Podgorica (original title: Henri Delarue, Le Monténégro. Ed. B. Duprat. Paris, 1862).

In the second chapter of his book, Delarue gives a physical description of Montenegro, information on its climate, the physical appearance of its inhabitants and their daily lives. When observed from Lovćen, Montenegro reminds him of a rough rock sea made of a limestone skeleton being washed out by strong autumn and winter rain showers. Due to the porosity of the land, water from heavy rainfalls is not retained, making hilly Montenegro infertile and ravaged by constant famine. In his notes, Delarue is fascinated by numerous contrasts when it comes to Montenegro's landscape, but also its climate, which is harsh in the north, and mild on the outskirts of Lake Shkodër. Like other foreigners who have visited Montenegro, Delarue notices the physical appearance of its people, who he says are tall, strong and agile, yet forced to emigrate and flee from poverty despite their inborn survival characteristics.

The last two chapters of the book are dedicated to the history of Montenegro; the first one deals with the period from the middle of the 19th century and the death of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, while the second chapter covers the period of rule of Prince Danilo I and the pivotal Battle of Grahovac. Delarue points out that in the past, Russia and Austria were involved in the events taking place in Montenegro, but now France is starting to interfere after its success in the Crimean War and the appointment of the French consul in Shkodër, whose diplomatic intervention in the territorial demarcation with Turkey Delarue considers crucial to a positive outcome of the Montenegrin question. Referring to the historical facts confirming that rulers in Montenegro always inherited their throne by virtue of law and that Montenegro was never a Turkish enclave, Delarue in particular emphasizes the French involvement in the defense of Montenegro's interests.

The book also includes a map of Montenegro made by Delarue himself, and many other official documents: legal instruments on the boundary demarcation between Montenegro and Austria and Turkey, Minutes of the Paris Congress held in 1855, the Code of Montenegro, Notes on the health of the population. In his publication, Delarue provides details of the course of the Battle of Grahovac in which he took part, claiming also that he was partly responsible for its outcome. The supplement to the book contains also an article on this event published by the French newspaper *Moniteur* in May 1858. The famous battle against the Turks plotted the course of Montenegro's history, as the Great Powers de facto recognised its sovereignty in 1859 by marking its borders.

The invasion of Montenegrin territory that took place in May 1858 near the town of Grahovac, not far from the border with Herzegovina, was followed by a battle between the Turkish army of approximately 10,000 soldiers led by General Hussein Pasha and the Montenegrin army, which was almost half the size of the Turkish force, led by Prince Danilo's brother, Grand Duke Mirko Petrović. In order to avoid bloodshed after the fierce fighting that started on 11 May 1858, the Prince's secretary Henri Delarue asked Hussein Pasha to allow him to go on a four-hour walk to Klobuk, a Turkish fortress where the headquarters of the Turkish army and European consuls were located, to discuss a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The Turkish general decided to provide Delarue with an armed escort for his protection and asked him in return to notify the

Montenegrin commander in writing not to attack the Turkish camp while Delarue was away (Lenorman, 2002, 365). Delarue notified Duke Mirko Petrović, who was commander-in-chief, of his departure in French, but since Duke Petrović did not speak French, he sent the letter to Cetinje for translation. Having already taken key positions on the ground, the Montenegrins grasped the opportunity and completely surrounded their enemy during the night. They seized large amounts of weaponry and inflicted heavy losses on the Turkish troops. During an all-out firefight, the Montenegrin troops recognised the Prince's secretary Delarue and saved him by giving him a horse (Lenorman, 2002, 366). Montenegro's final victory was won on 13 May 1858.

The letter from Danilo I sent on 22 May 1858 to the French consul in Shkodër containing the information on the outcome of the Battle of Grahovac (Lenorman, 2002, 364–367) and many other articles published in the foreign press at the time emphasise the role of the French secretary Delarue in the outcome of the decisive battle for the independence of Montenegro (Jovanović, 2016, 103–104). In his preface to Delarue's book, A. d'Avril points out that Delarue impressed the Montenegrins by passing through rifle fire by repelling bullets with his hands, and Montenegrins produced a folk song about him in which they call him a grey falcon:

Duke Mirko
calls his grey falcon,
by the name of Henri De la Rue,
the secretary of the noble prince:
who came from the city of Paris

'Delarue, my grey falcon!
Please go to the Turkish camp
And say hello to both Emperor's pashas
To come and surrender to me'
(Lainović, 2007b, 147)

Henri Delarue left Cetinje after the boundary demarcation between Montenegro and Turkey took place in 1859. A good friend of his, the French consul in Shkodër, participated in delineating the borders in dispute. Delarue passed away in France at the age of 40 just before going on a visit to Montenegro on an invitation from Prince/King Nikola I (Delari, 2003, 10).

CHARLES EMILE PIGUET, A SWISS PRECEPTOR AT THE COURT OF PRINCE/KING NIKOLA I

From 1860, Montenegro was under the rule of Prince Danilo I's nephew Prince/King Nikola I who gained his education in Trieste and Paris. Nikola I ruled Montenegro for more than 50 years. He introduced many reforms and promoted the

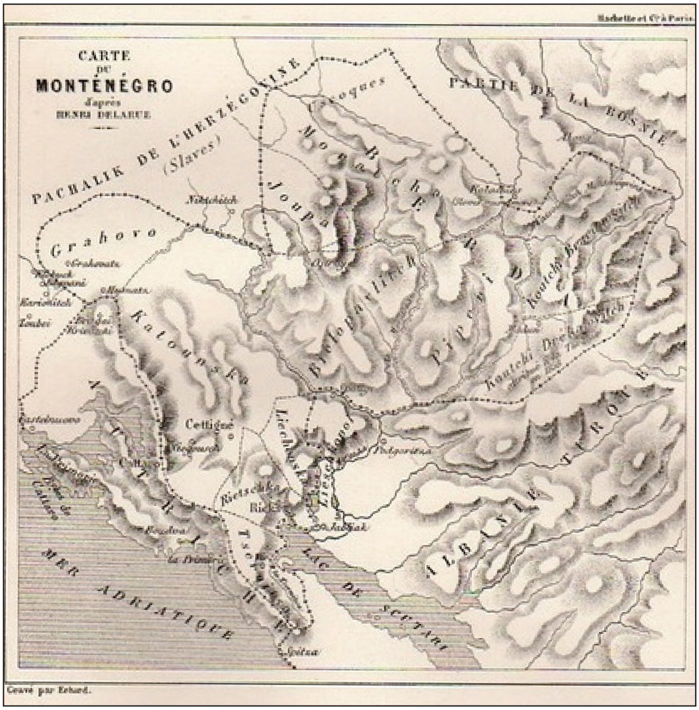


Fig. 2: Map of Montenegro according to Henri Delarue, 1862, Paris (Anri Delari, Crna Gora, CID, Podgorica, 2003).

development of the smallest Balkan country, which gained international recognition and access to the high seas and doubled its territory in 1878. The village of Cetinje, which had a little over 60 houses in 1867 according to the French physician Boulogne (Bulonj, 2002, 29), was experiencing a building expansion and became a miniature capital to which the European countries started to send their diplomatic representatives. The Montenegrin court and intellectual elite was communicating in French, maintaining French manners and introducing French etiquette (Jovanović, 2016, 195–209). There are testimonies of certain foreigners staying in Cetinje during that period regarding the 'Gallomania' (obsession with everything that is French) at the Petrović court that was completely at odds with the daily lives of the common people. In his autobiographical work *Bilješke jednog pisca*, Simo Matavulj, a Serbian writer born in Šibenik, gives the following description of the situation in Cetinje he witnessed in the 1880s:

As I saw there huts that can be found only in desolate mountains, in addition to buildings they call courts, primordial people with very few needs, and even less

thoughts, in addition to the people with Parisian manners, or more precisely, acting in a style befitting a person of Parisian manners, countryside habits and way of life, in addition to recently introduced European customs; a feudal spirit of the 19th century (Matavulj, 1975, 75).

The Prince/King of Montenegro had eight daughters and three sons. He sent his daughters to school in Saint Petersburg at the Smolny Institute, the first higher education institution for girls, where French was studied intensively. For his sons Danilo (1871–1939), Mirko (1879–1918) and Petar (1889–1932), he had found a Swiss francophone preceptor, Charles Emile Piguet, who stayed in Montenegro for more than twenty years.

In order to understand the decision of the Prince/King Nicholas I to bring the mentioned Swiss to Cetinje, it is necessary to emphasize that Piguet studied medicine, and that the Montenegrin court lacked doctors at that time. Namely, starting from 1858 until the 1880s, France sent military doctors to the Montenegrin court, who also performed a secretarial function and reported on the situation at the Montenegrin court to France (Bulonj, 2002, 97–113). Prince/King Nicholas I, however, was not satisfied with the last of them Jean Baptiste Feuvrier, because he took an overly critical attitude towards his rule, so he was denied the secretarial function (Jovanović, 2016, 213). In the diary of the Swiss doctor Fréderic Ferrière, who came to Montenegro in early 1876 as a member of the mission of the International Committee of the Red Cross from Geneva, some information characterized as confidential can be found. Namely, not at all satisfied with the French doctors, Prince/King Nicholas I asked to hire a secretary from Geneva for a salary of 8000 francs (Ferijer, 2007, 107).

Immediately after finishing his studies of Medicine in Geneva, Charles Emile Piguet (1859–1918) moved to Cetinje in 1881 to serve as a head teacher and educator of the Prince's sons. His contemporaries point out that he was a highly educated and diligent teacher renowned for his tolerance, culture and responsible approach to his profession. In a travelogue published in 1895, the Swiss writer and painter William Ritter described his second trip to Montenegro in 1893, where he had the opportunity to meet his compatriot. He points out that Piguet spent most of his free time studying the difficult local „Yugoslav language" which is „sometimes called Serbian, sometimes Croatian, and could also be called Bosnian, Illyrian or Montenegrin" (Ritter, 1895, 27). Knowledge of the local language enabled him to translate into French and publish literary and scholarly papers, in an effort to present the significance of Montenegro in the Balkans to Europeans. During his stay in Cetinje, he translated into French the play *Gordana* (or *Uskokova ljubav*) written by Laza Kostić, a Serbian writer who worked in Montenegro as a political advisor to the Prince and an editor of the Montenegrin official newspaper (Ritter, 1895, 87). In his travelogue, Ritter further introduces readers to long excerpts of heroic lyricism - epic poems of Prince / King Nicholas I, including an excerpt from the poem *The Poet and the Fairy* written in 1892, which was translated into French, but inedited, by Charles Emile Piguet (Ritter, 1895, 42–52).

The writer and professor Simo Matavulj, who knew Piguet well, emphasises in his autobiographical work that Piguet was young and original and had a poetic soul, as well as a vast knowledge of literature despite being a physician by education (Vukmanović, 1993, 158). Other foreigners who had a chance to meet Piguet in person in Montenegro were also impressed by his well-built physique and the fact that he was almost always wearing Montenegrin garb. In his travel journal published in 1903 in Saint Petersburg, E. Markov, a Russian travel writer, states that this sturdy Swiss resembled a Montenegrin hero rather than a European teacher (Markov, 2005, 368). Henrik A. Angell, a Norwegian captain who came to Montenegro in January 1893, was also impressed by Piguet's strength talking about it in his book *Montenegro on Skis (Crna Gora na Skijama):*

> *My neighbour, a French Swiss, monsieur Charles Piguet, who works for Prince, used to bathe every morning. At seven o'clock I would hear him starting his morning cleaning routine by breaking ice in water cans. He was a diligent man working all day round regardless of the cold, incredibly strong and beautiful naturalised Montenegrin, an athlete to the marrow* (Angel, 50, 1991).

Charles Emile Piguet indeed spent all day educating the Prince's sons who, to judge from the photos in our possession and oral testimonies from their later childhood years, were not the most diligent students (Jovanović-Bjeloš, 1998, 66). Danilo, the firstborn son and heir to the throne, continued his education at a military academy in Russia, whilst the youngest, Prince Petar, received his education in Heidelberg under the auspices of his sister, Princess Ana (married name Butemberg), graduating in 1907 after getting into mischief quite often (Jovanović-Bjeloš,1998, 66). Mirko, Nikola's second-born son, was the only one to have children, he composed music and was passionate about horse riding. He wrote music for *Balkanska carica*, a drama by Prince/King Nikola I, and the Prince's anthem (Rastoder et al., 2006, 1017). Mirko's grandson, Prince Nikola II, is currently the head of the Petrović Njegoš house. He is an architect by profession and lives and works in France and Montenegro. He runs the Petrović-Njegoš Foundation, established in 2011 with the aim of developing and promoting Montenegro through various activities of solidarity, environmental protection, innovations and culture.

In 1905, a summary of Piguet's lecture from his book dedicated to Montenegro (*Le Monténégro*, 1905) was published on six pages in No. 44 of the Geneva geography journal *Le Globe*. At the beginning of his lecture, Piguet points out that Montenegro, a country which has fought Turkey for a long time to earn its deserved freedom, is currently led by one of the most unusual European rulers. In his presentation, he talks affirmatively about the economic development of Montenegro during the last two decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, the construction of the first roads, the railway infrastructure which is being constructed by the Italians and the transformation of a seaport in Bar, the only Montenegrin coastal town. In addition to geographic indicators related to Montenegro, Piguet also talks about its

climate and the lack of rainfall during the summer, which often causes famine among the Montenegrins, and their emigration to other countries where they resort to hard labour to survive. Estates in Montenegro are fragmented and the very existence of each Montenegrin depends on a small piece of land, which often provides barely any opportunities for their survival and the survival of their families. Piguet also talks about the education system, which has expanded in such a short time that, according to him, one can rarely meet an illiterate Montenegrin nowadays. He describes the men as beautiful, tall, slender and fearless, and points out that the women are 'splendid companions to their husbands and accompany them also on war expeditions'. In addition to the information on the population figures for the country and its towns, Piguet's observation about military service is also interesting. On one occasion, Piguet attended a military recruitment rally where he noticed many men with grey hair claiming that they were under 45 years of age, so they could continue their active service. Piguet also talks highly and very emotionally of Prince/King Nikola I, describing him as diligent and a skilful poet and national leader (Piguet, 1905).

After fighting fiercely for the recognition of Montenegro, Prince Nikola I, who became king in the meantime, left his country in January 1916 because of the occupation of Montenegro by the Austro-Hungarian Empire and establishment of a military occupation administration. He went into exile with his court and government to France and kept fighting for the integrity of Montenegro by using all possible diplomatic means, but failed to obtain support from the Great Powers. After the Podgorica Assembly in November 1918 and annexation of Montenegro by Serbia, Montenegro de facto ceased to exist. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created, and the Petrović Njegoš dynasty was dethroned, whilst its property was confiscated (Rastoder et al., 2006, 1040). During a fierce campaign led enthusiastically by Prince/King Nikola I in France until his death in 1921, with the aim of restoring independence and returning to his homeland, he had the sincere support of Charles Emile Piguet, who represented the interests of Montenegro in Switzerland. In 1916, the king of Montenegro proposed to Switzerland the opening of a consular mission in Geneva. The mission was entrusted to Charles Emile Piguet, who was appointed Honorary Consul. He remained in this position during an extremely hard period in the history of Montenegro, until he passed away on 24 September 1918 at 59 years of age. During his two-year term, he put a lot of effort into regaining Montenegro's sovereignty at many key locations, establishing a range of diplomatic contacts and activities. Giving him deserved credit, the Royal Government of Montenegro organised his funeral in Geneva at the state's expense in a manner earned by his life and work. At the funeral, Montenegro was represented by its former Government, President in exile Lazar Mijušković. Geneva newspapers published an obituary of the meritorious deceased. (Glas Crnogorca, 15. 10. 1918, 3; Journal de Genève, 27.09.1918, 4; Journal de Genève, 28.09.1918, 5).

In 1893, France decorated Charles Emile Piguet with the Officer's Cross of the Order of the Legion of Honour for his merit and engagement in the education of the Prince's children, and Montenegro awarded him with the Order of Prince Danilo I for independence (Kapičić & Vujačić, 2005, 179).



Fig. 3: Charles Emile Piguet with Prince Petar in Cetinje in 1900 (National Library of Serbia).

CONCLUSION

With this work, we tried to acquaint readers with the hitherto insufficiently affirmed contribution of the first foreign French language teachers in Montenegro, which is reflected not only in their sincere encouragement of Montenegro's cultural development, but their perennial of dedicated work also had an impact on its international recognition. We could freely call the first Francophone teachers from rich European countries, who in the 19th century arrived to the Balkans to the smallest European capital, Philomontenegrians. Namely, staying at the Cetinje court for many years, these missionaries of adventurous spirit had the opportunity to get to know, experience, see Montenegro and its population in one, not only objective, but also intriguing way, get acquainted with the local language from which some of them translated literary works, and became closer to the Montenegrin rulers, and to convey in the original and emotionally colored writings to the Europeans their positive view and praiseworthy experiences about a country hitherto almost unknown to them.

Through the hitherto unpublished analysis of the perception of Montenegrin reality in the works authored by Francophone teachers Henri Delarue and Charles Emile Piguet, it is observed at first glance that Montenegro, its culture, history and tradition are presented in a very affirmative context. The same observations and views on Montenegro can also be found in other autoethnographic records and in the views of their authors, analysed in this paper. Namely, in almost all works, the exceptional courage and fearlessness of the Montenegrin people in defending freedom is underlined, but also the unjust position of the poor country, which was influenced by the geopolitical and strategic context on a larger scale. In the desire to help Montenegro in the key moments for its independence, all three first Francophone teachers gave a strong impetus to its affirmation in three different periods of its history. The controversial French teacher of Njegoš, Antide Jaume, taught his student to be fluent in a language that was considered diplomatic, which enabled Njegoš to draw attention to the ungrateful position of his country in international circles. The drawing of the first Montenegrin border lines with Austria in 1841 is a proof that his mission bore fruit. With the help of his close friend the French consul in Shkodra, Hyacinthe Hecquart, which Henri Delarue discusses in detail in his book, he had great credit for the favorable outcome of the Battle of Grahovac in 1858, after which Montenegro was de facto granted independence. Finally, the French preceptor at the court of Nicholas I, Charles Emile Piguet, who of all Francophone foreign teachers spent the longest time in Montenegro, promoted the smallest Balkan state in elite European circles by translating literary works and by publishing about Montenegro. This eminent doctor and philologist would decide to represent the interests of the Montenegrin government in exile in Switzerland, at a very ungrateful historical moment, immediately after the occupation of Montenegro in World War I in 1916.

Today, Njegoš‘s residence in the Montenegrin cultural capital Cetinje, built during Jaume‘s stay in Montenegro, is very popular with tourists. It is named Biljarda after the first billiard table and game, very favored in the 19th century France. Njegoš apparently learned it from his French teachers. Billiards – the so-called Carambol or Carom version (played by Njegoš) – is one of the most popular sports in Cetinje today and is played in the Billiards Club, which is a member of the European and World Billiard Carom Federation. The fact that one of the rulers on the edge of Europe in the Montenegrin mountains in the 1830s had a billiard room also tells us that the influence of the first Francophone teachers was unavoidable for Montenegro. The results and works of the first Francophone teachers (unjustly neglected, in the opinion of the authors of this paper, especially given the slight interest in studying French language and culture in today‘s Montenegro) have been translated into a testimony that marked the Montenegrin identity and can nowadays serve in creating the brand of Montenegro as a destination.

PRISPEVEK PRVIH UČITELJEV FRANCOŠČINE NA PETROVIĆEVEM DVORU K PREOBRAZBI DRUŽBE IN UVELJAVITVI ČRNE GORE V EVROPI

Ivona JOVANOVIĆ
Univerza Črne gore, Fakulteta za turizem in hotelirstvo, Stari grad 320, 85330 Kotor, Črna gora
e-mail: ivonaj@t-com.me

Jasna POTOČNIK TOPLER
Univerza v Mariboru, Fakulteta za turizem, Cesta prvih borcev 36, 8250 Brežice, Slovenija
e-mail: jasna.potocnik1@um.si

POVZETEK

Članek analizira prispevek prvih učiteljev francoščine v Črni gori k razvoju njene družbe v 19. stoletju, to je v času vladavine zadnjih treh vladarjev dinastije Petrović Njegoš: Petra II. Petrovića Njegoša, princa Danila in princa / kralja Nikole. Glede na to, da so francoščino v 19. stoletju uporabljali splošno izobraženi ljudje po Evropi, v takratni Črni gori pa ni bilo učiteljev, so bili prvi profesorji izobraženi tujci iz evropskih frankofonskih držav. Antide Jaume, ki je prišel iz Francije, da bi poučeval Njegoša francoščino, Henri Delarue, ki je bil učitelj in tajnik Danila I., in Charles Emile Piguet, ki je bil učitelj sinov princa / kralja Nikole I., niso bili le redni učitelji, ki so diplomirali iz filologije, ampak karizmatične osebnosti, ki so na podlagi široke izobrazbe ter energičnih in pogumnih prepričanj dale močne impulze za razvoj družbe in družbenopolitično krepitev Črne gore v Evropi v odločilnih trenutkih za njeno zgodovino. Ti učitelji na misiji so se odrekli udobju in blaginji civilizacije, ki so jo uživali v razvitih delih Evrope, in so najboljša leta svojega življenja preživeli na prostovoljnem poslanstvu v skorajda divjini Cetinja ter skušali svoje učence skozi učenje francoskega jezika in kulture približati kulturni Evropi. Poleg poučevanja se njihova vloga kaže tudi v tem, da so Črno goro predstavljali, opisovali in popularizirali v svojih pisnih pričevanjih, potopisnih besedilih, pa tudi z iskreno podporo in verovanjem v potrebo po njenem mednarodnem priznanju. Članek o prvih učiteljih francoščine v Črni gori temelji na dejstvih, ugotovljenih s preučevanjem arhivskega in knjižničnega gradiva, izvirnost pa predstavlja analiza nekaterih periodičnih publikacij, potopisnih besedil in dokumentov spominskega oz. avtobiografskega značaja, ki doslej še niso bili analizirani. Zaključki te analize so prvič predstavljeni v tem članku in predstavljajo pomembno nadgradnjo doslej objavljenim spoznanjem in vir za nadaljevanje znamčenja Črne gore kot destinacije.

Ključne besede: Črna gora, 19. stoletje, črnogorski vladarji, učitelji francoščine, potopisno pripovedništvo, avtoetnografija, znamčenje

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alú, Giorgia & Sarah P. Hill (2018): The Travelling Eye: Reading the Visual in Travel Narratives. Studies in Travel Writing, 22, 1, 1–15.

Andrijašević, Živko (2013): Mitropolit Petar II Petrović Njegoš i velike sile. In: Bečanović, Tatjana (ed.): Zbornik radova Njegoševi dani 1,2,3,4. Nikšić, Filozofski fakultet Nikšić, 435–459.

Angel, Henrik (1991): Kroz Crnu Goru na skijama. Cetinje-Titograd, JAS Promet Cetinje i Republički zavod za fizičku kulturu – Titograd.

Banašević, Nikola (1929): Njegoševo učenje stranih jezika. Zapisi, V, 4, 193–202.

Bjazoleto, Bartolomeo (2004): Putovanje saksonskog kralja Fridriha Augusta u Crnu Goru. In: Pulević, Vukić (ed.): Crna Gora - vrata Balkana. Cetinje, Obod, 57–97.

Bogdanović, Pero (2013): Kralja Nikole sjećanje na Njegoša. In*:* Nikčević, Protojerej-Stavrofor Radomir (ed.): Njegoš – vladar i vladika; Svjedočanstva Njegoševih savremenika. Beograd-Cetinje, Svetigora, 218–220.

Bulonj, Alfred (2002): Crna Gora, zemlja i stanovništvo. Podgorica, CID.

Davril, Adolf (2003): Bilješka o Anriju Delariju. In: Delari, Anri (ed.): Crna Gora. Podgorica, CID, 5–11.

Delari, Anri (2003): Crna Gora. Podgorica, CID.

Ferijer, dr Frederik (2007): Crna Gora – Dnevnik švajcarskog ljekara. Podgorica, CID.

Glas Crnogorca-La Voix du Monténégrin. Neuilly-sur-Seine, Službeni organ Kraljevine Crne Gore, 1917–1921.

Grémaux, J. M. René (1984): Politics in 19th-Century Montenegro. Current Anthropology, 25, 5, 673–674.

Holman Jones, Stacy, Adams, E. Tony & Carolyn Ellis (2016): Handbook of Autoethnography. New York, Routledge.

Journal de Genève. Genève, Ville de Genève, 1826–1998.

Jovanović, Ivona (2015): Bilježnica – Njegošev izbor stihova Lamartina i Igoa. Budva, Grad Budva.

Jovanović, Ivona (2016): Francuski jezik i kultura u Crnoj Gori (1830–1914). Podgorica, UCG.

Jovanović, Ivona (2017): La profession d'enseignant de français langue étrangère au Monténégro: le rapport à la formation et les difficultés du métier. Porta Linguarum, 28, 111–115.

Jovanović-Bjeloš, Ilija (1998): Na dvoru kralja Nikole – uspomene iz mog života. Cetinje, Obod.

Kapičić, Anđe & Velimir Vujačić (2005): Strana odlikovanja u Crnoj Gori. Šabac, Farma.

Kavrečič, Petra (2011): Pričevalci preteklosti: Avanturisti in drugi popotniki na Krasu in v Istri pred modernim turizmom. Acta Histriae, 19, 4, 683–702.

Kilibarda, Vesna & Jelena Knežević (2017): Njegoševa biblioteka, Knjiga 137 (Posebna izdanja). Podgorica, CANU.

Knežević, Jelena & Ana Minić (2019): Montenegro als exotischer Raum in deutschsprachigen Reiseberichten in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ars & Humantitas, 13, 2, 147–162.

Kol, Johan Georg (2005): Putovanje u Crnu Goru. Podgorica, CID.

Kolendić, Petar (1948): Dolazak Antida Žoma u Crnu Goru. Istoriski zapisi, 2, 5–6, 241–247.

Lainović, Andrija (1932): Glas Francuske na dan bitke kod Grahova 1858. Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke gimnazije, III, 3, 11–16.

Lainović, Andrija (1956): Francuski konzul u Skadru Ijasent Ekar i njegova prva posjeta Crnoj Gori. Istoriski zapisi, XII, 1–2, 191–206.

Lainović, Andrija (2007a): Francuski diplomata na crnogorskom dvoru. In: Lopičić, Đorđe (ed.): Studije i ogledi iz istorije i diplomatije. Beograd, Đorđe Lopičić, 144–149.

Lainović, Andrija (2007b): Francuska i Crna Gora u XIX vijeku**.** In: Lopičić, Đorđe (ed.): Studije i ogledi iz istorije i diplomatije. Beograd, Đorđe Lopičić, 254–262.

Lekić, Danilo (1982): Francuzi o Cetinju. Bibliografski vjesnik, XI, 3, 63–95.

Lenorman, Fransoa (2002): Turci i Crnogorci. Podgorica, CID.

Markov, Evgenij (2005): Putovanje po Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Podgorica, CID.

Matavulj, Simo (1975): Bilješke jednog pisca. Cetinje, Obod.

Milaković, Dimitrije (1835): I. Kratak pregled – geografsko-statistički opis Crne Gore, 8. Žitelji. Grlica, kalendar crnogorski za godinu 1835, Cetinje, 47–48.

Milović, Jevto (1951): Njegoševa Biljarda, Istoriski zapisi, knj.VII, 1–3, jan-mart, 1–15.

Milović, Jevto (1964): Boravak Antida i Franciske Žom u Crnoj Gori. Istorijski zapisi, XVII, 1, 45–68

Nenadović, Ljubomir (1998): Njegoš u Italiji. In: Đurić, Vojislav (ed.): P. P. Njegoš – Izabrana dela. Beograd, Draganić, 302–311.

Piguet, Charles (1905): Le Monténégro. Globe. Revue genevoise de géographie, 44, 138–143.

Rastoder, Šerbo, Andrijašević, M. Živko, Papović, Dragutin, Folić, Zvezdan, Šabotić, Said, Drobnjak, Slobodan, Selhanović, Jadranka, Drinčić, Željko & Adnan Prekić (2006): Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore, 1 i 5. Podgorica, Daily press-Vijesti.

Raš, Gustav (2001): Crna Gora u pričama. Podgorica**,** CID.

Ritter, William (1895): Second voyage au Monténégro. La Chaud de Fonds, Imprimerie du National Suisse.

Robinson, Mike (2004): Narratives of Being Elsewhere: Tourism and Travel Writing. In: Lew, Alan A., Hall, Michael C. & Allan M. Williams (eds).: A Companion to Tourism. Malden, Oxford, Carlton, Blackwell Publishing, 303–316.

Savić-Rebac, Anica (1957/2020): The Ray of Microcosm by Petar Petrovič Njegoš. In: Lunt, G. Horace (ed.): Harvard Slavic Studies. III. Cambridge, Mouton & Co, Publishers, 105–200.

Spasić, Krunoslav (1988): Njegoš i Francuzi. Zaječar, Kristal.

Stojanović, Milenko (1928): Njegoš kao prevodilac Lamartina. Strani pregled, II, 1–2, 56–60.

Štiglic, Hajnrih (2004): Posjeta Crnoj Gori. Podgorica, CID.

Vujović, Dimitrije (Dimo) (1968): Knjeginja Darinka - politička aktivnost. Cetinje, Obod.

Vujović, Dimitrije (Dimo) (1971): Crna Gora i Francuska (1860–1914). Cetinje, Obod.

Vukmanović, Savo (1993): Simo Matavulj u Crnoj Gori i njegov odnos prema knjazu Nikoli. Bibliografski vijesnik, XXII, 1, 151–173.

Received: 2020-06-30 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.18

I MIGLIORI ELEMENTI D'ITALIANITÀ. LOCAL POLITICAL POWER ASCENSION AND ITALIANIZATION DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF POST–WORLD WAR I IN VOLOSCA–ABBAZIA, 1918–1920

Ivan JELIČIĆ
Institute of Political History, Villányi út 11-13, 1114 Budapest, Hungary
e–mail: jelicich.ivan@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This article analyses the rise of local Italian nationalists to power in the Istrian municipality of Volosko–Opatija/Volosca–Abbazia in the immediate post-World War I period. Through the activity of the Circolo 3 Novembre association, this case study displays how local Italian national activists affirmed themselves and were recognized as a privileged counterpart by Italian occupational authorities. Further, this article displays how a segment of the local nationalists became radicalized, contributing to the rise of political violence in the area, as well as supporting D'Annunzio's occupation of Fiume/Rijeka.

Keywords: Julian March, Nationalization, Italianization, Volosko–Opatija/Volosca–Abbazia, Circolo 3 Novembre, Political Radicalization

I MIGLIORI ELEMENTI D'ITALIANITÀ. L'ASCESA AL POTERE LOCALE E L'ITALIANIZZAZIONE NEI PRIMI ANNI DEL PRIMO DOPOGUERRA A VOLOSCA–ABBAZIA, 1918–1920

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza l'ascesa al potere dei locali nazionalisti italiani nel municipio istriano di Volosca–Abbazia nel periodo immediatamente successivo alla Prima guerra mondiale. Il caso studio dimostra come, tramite l'attività dell'associazione Circolo 3 Novembre, i locali nazionalisti italiani si affermarono e furono riconosciuti come interlocutori privilegiati delle autorità occupazionali italiane. Inoltre, l'articolo dimostra come una parte dei nazionalisti locali divenne un elemento di radicalizzazione contribuendo alla crescita della violenza politica nell'area, sostenendo l'occupazione dannunziana di Fiume.

Parole chiave: Venezia Giulia, nazionalizzazione, italianizzazione, Volosca–Abbazia, Circolo 3 Novembre, radicalizzazione politica

INTRODUCTION[1]

The municipality of Volosca/Volosko[2] owed its fortune to the *Südbahn*'s large investments that shaped the once uninhabited Abbazia/Opatija into a picturesque tourist resort. The growth and fame of Istria's northeastern seashore became so renowned that even the municipality was renamed Volosca-Abbazia/Volosko-Opatija. From the end of the nineteenth century, the flourishing touristic resort was an Istrian Croatian national and cultural stronghold at the local and regional political level. Already in 1895, Croatian nationalists oversaw the municipality, established a *Narodni dom* (1904), a Croatian-language lower gymnasium (1909), and various nation-oriented Croatian associations. These Croatian nationalists did not just dominate administrative power within the borders of the town; they also succeeded in electing candidates to the Istrian provincial diet. Their political rivals, the Italian nationalists, had limited appeal in the area. Volosko had only two registered Italian associations: the *Gabinetto di Lettura*, a declining reading club, and a cycling association, the *Club ciclistico Voloscano*, founded in 1902. Liburnia – the traditional name for the northeastern coastal part of Istria where Volosko-Opatija is located – was not a very fertile ground for Italian nationalism compared to nearby Trieste/Trst and to former Venetian-ruled areas of Istria like Rovigno/Rovinj or Parenzo/Poreč.[3] Exceptions were the municipalities of Laurana/Lovran and Moschienizze/Mošćenice (in the Italian period later renamed Moschiena), the only two localities in Liburnia controlled in the late Habsburg period by Italian nationalists. The political contention between Croatian and Italian nationalists was spiced up by the presence of Hungarian- and German-speakers as well. The latter were a more imposing factor on communal life thanks to the blossoming of a private German-language elementary and middle school, aided by local German-language associations. Yet, some of these German associations epitomized social rather than national affiliations (Muzur, 1998, 99–114; Zakošek, 2005, 9–110; D'Alessio, 2008, 245–247).

Despite Croatian political dominance and a considerable pinch of *Mitteleuropa* on the Adriatic shores, after 1918 things shifted quickly and Italian nationalists quickly prevailed where before they had not. The rise of local Italian nationalists was a direct result of regime change in this corner of the dissolving Habsburg Empire. In the former Austrian Littoral, the power transition was influenced – and the outcomes were directed – by the occupational presence of the Italian state. The administrations that oversaw

1 This article was written under the auspices of the project NEPOSTRANS, "Negotiating post-imperial transitions: from remobilization to nation-state consolidation. A comparative study of local and regional transitions in post-Habsburg East and Central Europe," financed by the European Research Council (ERC) under Consolidator Grant agreement no. 772264. I would like to thank Vanni D'Alessio and the NEPOSTRANS team members for comments on the previous version of the text. Particular gratitude goes to Cody J. Inglis for language editing.

2 When a locality is first mentioned, I deploy the prevailing Italian and Croatian forms. For the sake of simplicity, I later employ the most common form used today, with the partial exception of Fiume/Rijeka given its specificity.

3 For a recent synthesis on the politics in Istria in the late Habsburg period cf. Žitko, 2016.

this transition were not stable: they were overseen by the Italian military (November 1918–July 1919) and then an Italian-organized civil administration was installed that lasted even after annexation to Italy with the Treaty of Rapallo in November 1920. In the first transition months, the Italian army eagerly supported Italian nationalist groups which undermined, marginalized, and contrasted potential or imagined opponents to Italian annexation (Mondini, 2006, 55). Likewise, some of these emergent Italian nationalistic groups were revealed to be problematic once they started to threaten the Italian liberal state, aligning rather with D'Annunzio and constituting or joining the nascent fascist movement (Vinci, 2011, 42–59). The ascension of Italian nationalists to political control in Volosko-Opatija was, in this regard, a local modality of the transition to a new state.

Studies on the establishment of the Italian military and civil administration in what became *Venezia Giulia* – and the political radicalization that led to the rise of the fascist movement in the region – are mainly focused on Trieste, Gorizia/Gorica, and the Isonzo/Soča area (Apih, 1966; Visintin, 1998; Visintin, 2000; Kacin–Wohinz, 2010; Apollonio, 2011; Klabjan & Bajc, 2021, 82–305), while research on the Istrian region is foremost centered on the fascist movement and the fascist period (Bon Gherardi, 1985; Dukovski, 1998). In recent years, studies have focused on some aspects of the transition of these areas to the Italian state by examining internments (Bajc, 2012; Bajc, 2018) and the position of women in specific professional categories (Verginella, 2021; Testen Koren & Cergol Paradiž, 2022). However, analyses of how the Italian occupation-administered regime changed, and how nationalist principles after World War I were implemented on the local scale in peripheral areas of *Venezia Giulia*, are still scarcely present. Attention to the Istrian local postwar dimension is limited to Isola/Izola (Kramar, 1987, 367–376), Pisino/Pazin (D'Alessio, 2001; D'Alessio, 2007), and Capodistria/Koper (Bon, 2017), as well as an overview on Rovinj (Han, 2016) and an insight into Dignano/Vodnjan (Delton, 2016).

By focusing on the Volosko-Opatija municipality, this article examines the establishment and presence of the Italian state at the local level and the process by which the *status quo ante* power balance was overturned in favor of local Italian nationalists. Specific attention will be devoted to local Italian national activists and the practices they pursued in the postwar period to obtain power and ensure the triumph of Italian nationalism in the municipality. A central aspect will be research on the *Circolo 3 Novembre*, a cultural association founded after the war which informally acted as a local interest group, whose existence was known but not systematically researched (Dukovski, 1998, 44). Finally, the article will display how the nationalists, supported by the Italian occupational authorities, organized a paramilitary group and became an element in catalyzing violence, fostering the organization of radical elements that laid the basis for the local fascist movement.

This article is based mainly on archival documentation held in the State Archives in Rijeka in the fonds of the political district and municipality of Volosko-Opatija, combined with personal data stored in the residential records collection for the interwar period held in the same archive. These administrative local sources have rarely been

used in historical research, and given the very dubious preservation or at least hardly traceable original documentation on the *Circolo 3 Novembre* group and its leading members, these sources present an essential source base for reconstructing the association's activity. By analyzing these sources, this article provides original insight into the leading figures of local Italian nationalism in a less-studied area of Istria during the first postwar years, thus contributing to our understanding of the area's transition to the Italian state at the local level.

FROM THE HABSBURG EMPIRE TO ITALY

In the Volosko-Opatija political district, the transition of bureaucratic power from Habsburg officials to new, self-proclaimed national authorities happened without radical or violent upheavals. By the end of October 1918, the Austrian district captain was replaced by a district chief appointed by a district committee of the National Council of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs (hereafter SCS National Council). Effective control by new national authorities was almost only restricted to the district's seat, and the mere existence of the local SCS National Council was soon proven to be ephemeral. A few days after the discharge of the former captain, on November 4 a small Italian naval fleet reached Opatija, recognizing the SCS National Council at first. But when the armed Italian presence was consolidated, it was dismissed on November 13 (Šepić, 1961, 350, 358). The removal of the SCS National Council closed the short parentheses of South Slav authority and the beginning of the establishment of Italian sovereignty over the Volosko-Opatija district and municipality. Though nearly the entire district was part of territories assigned to Italy by the 1915 London Memorandum – better known as the Treaty of London (Bajc, 2017) – the area was not instantly annexed to Italy. The military occupied the Austrian Littoral – now *Venezia Giulia* – and a military governor oversaw its administration. While the occupational authorities maintained the previous administrative divisions, new military legislation alongside Austrian civil law were introduced (Capuzzo, 1992). The situation on the ground was more contingent, however. The Italian military officer appointed as Volosko-Opatija's civil district commissioner (replacing the position of district captain) took his office only in January 1919, while Captain Umberto Sala, appointed civil commissioner of Kastav municipality in November 1918, started gathering information on parts of the district, exercising duties beyond a municipal commissioner (Jeličić, 2020, 102–103).

Unlike Kastav, the Volosko-Opatija municipality was commissioned only in January 1919. On January 4, 1919, a special commissioner – an Italian military officer with no links to the local environment – took the municipality from the previous office holder, Andrija Stanger. It was a considerable symbolic turning point, since Stanger (1853–1934), the prewar mayor and local lawyer, had held this position uninterrupted since 1895 as a representative of the strongest local political group, the Croatian nationalists (Szabo, 2007–2008). While the SCS National Council was disbanded shortly after the war to open the road for the establishment of Italian sovereignty, Stanger's removal proved to be the next logical step towards the Italianization of the district's most

important municipality. Apart from the weight this change held on the national symbolical level, the introduction of a special commissioner to the municipality triggered a loss of political representation that would last for years to come. This deficiency of representation was solved only when the area was annexed to Italy and a new municipal board was appointed. Most members of the new municipal board were members of a new postwar association, the *Circolo 3 Novembre*. In studying this crucial organization, one comes to understand how local Italian nationalists obtained influence well before these territories became official parts of the Kingdom of Italy.

"THERE IS ALWAYS A NEW CITIZEN ENROLLING IN THE ITALIAN LOCAL ASSOCIATION"[4]

At the end of World War One, in the costal part of the district of Volosko-Opatija, Italian-oriented associationism was in a deplorable state. In a report from the Kastav civil commissioner to the *Venezia Giulia* Governor, written around December 1918, a section of the Dante Alighieri Society existed in the municipality of Lovran, while sections of the same society, or the *Lega Nazionale*, were not to be found in Volosko-Opatija. Although some individuals were members of these associations, the main district's municipality was without cornerstone Italian organizations. The late-Habsburg Italian school association *Lega Nazionale*, disbanded by the authorities during the war, and the Dante Alighieri Society, a group aiming to spread and defend Italianity abroad and after the war in newly occupied territories (Wörsdorfer, 2009, 68–73), were missing from Volosko-Opatija. Yet, the civil commissioner of Kastav indicated a notable exception: "*The only Italian organization with a political and irredentist profile (even though in a latent state) was the 'Volosca Cycling Club' now resurrected with a new life under the banner 'Circolo 3 Novembre' including around 80 members*."[5]

The *Circolo 3 Novembre* was officially founded at the end of January 1919, but, as mentioned in Sala's report, the preparations were already made in December 1918. Formally, the circle—which bore the date of the Armistice of Villa Giusti—was an association with cultural aims. It was founded to organize conferences and festivities, and aimed "to carry out activity of national education (*svolgere opera di educazione nazionale*)."[6] While for the Kastav civil commissioner, and according to a later published fascist-era local publication the *Circolo 3 Novembre* grew out of the local

4 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Ufficio I.T.O. e Centri I.P., Appunti del C.I.P. di Volosca, R. Governatorato di Trieste, Ufficio I.T.O. Centro I.P. Volosca, Situazione generale, Volosca, 13.7.1919. "Nelle società italiane locali c'è sempre qualche nuovo cittadino che si iscrive…".

5 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 42 (new signature), 1–I–1919, Amministrazioni comunali, Comune di Castua, Regio Commissario Civile di Castua, Relazione politica ed amministrativa del comune di Castua, N. 2 [s.a.], Nozioni varie sulle condizioni del comune di Abbazia–Volosca, nei riguardi dell'amministrazione comunale, delle organizzazioni periodiche, economiche e religiose e degli istituti d'istruzione, 2) L'organizzazioni politiche, 30. "L'unica organizzazione Italiana con carattere politico e irredentista (benché larvato) era il "CLUB CICLISTICO VOLOSCANO" ora risorto a nuova vita col titolo di "CIRCOLO TRE NOVEMBRE" conta un'ottantina di soci".

6 ASTs, CGC VG, Gabinetto, b. 52, 24/1 Circoli di cultura nella V.G., Volosca, Statuto del "Circolo 3 novembre".

prewar irredentist cycling association (Costantino, 1936, 12–13). As the civil commissioner of the Volosko-Opatija political district noted, the circle provided a place of "sure confidence for patriotic ideas (*sicuro affidamento per idee patriottiche*)," and was also worthy of financial support, since the association was made up of the "best elements of Italianness (*i migliori elementi d'italianità*)."[7] The patriotic association was thus smoothly recognized by the military governor of *Venezia Giulia* and enjoyed institutional support and appreciation by the military authorities. For instance, the municipal commissioner retroactively asked for the cancellation of the electricity bill for the *Circolo 3 Novembre*'s charity festivity in December 1918,[8] while in April 1919 the local Italian military intelligence office—the *Informazioni Truppe Operanti* (ITO)—reported that the circle needed around one thousand candles to illuminate the coast on the occasion of the expected annexation.[9] Predictably, in the following months, the *Circolo 3 Novembre*, and the recently created branch of the Dante Alighieri Society, rallied further supporters. As the Volosca ITO office reported in July: "There is always a new citizen enrolling in local Italian associations (*Nelle società italiane locali c'è sempre qualche nuovo cittadino che si iscrive* (…)," estimating 170 members for the *Circolo 3 Novembre* and 120 members for the local committee of Dante Alighieri Society.[10] While it is not easy to evaluate how many members were active inside the society, nor possible to find out individuals' reasons for joining the associations, the membership roster certainly grew.

In August 1919, the *carabinieri* and the ITO office delivered detailed reports on the *Circolo 3 Novembre*, estimating membership and identifying and evaluating their executive board. For the *carabinieri*, the circle performed activities of national and patriotic propaganda, organizing public festivities with charitable purposes. However, the propaganda activity could not be considered highly fruitful. The activities were organized thanks to donations, but the monthly fees were insufficient for the circle's propaganda activity to function properly.[11] The *carabinieri*'s disenchanted description was counterpoised by the ITO office, which added a pompous adjective to its description of the circle, which they said carried out "very useful activity in favor of Italianness (*opera utilissima d'italianità*)."[12] The *Circolo 3 Novembre* was estimated at being somewhere between 160 and 170 members, with the military intelligence

7 ASTs, CGC VG, Gabinetto, b. 52, 24/1 Circoli di Cultura nella V.G., Volosca, Il Commissario distrettuale al Governatorato, 9 febbraio 1919.

8 DARI 472, CVA, b. 143, Anno 1919, N. 736, Il Circolo 3 Novembre al commissario straordinario di Volosca, Volosca, 20.2.1919.

9 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Ufficio I.T.O. e Centri I.P., Appunti del C.I.P. di Volosca, Appunti del C.I.P., 13.4.1919.

10 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Ufficio I.T.O. e Centri I.P., Appunti del C.I.P. di Volosca, R. Governatorato di Trieste, Ufficio I.T.O. Centro I.P. Volosca, Situazione generale, Volosca, 13.7.1919.

11 ASTs, CGC VG, Gabinetto, b. 52, 24/1 Circoli di Cultura nella V.G., Volosca, Legione Carabinieri Reali, Oggetto: Circoli di Cultura, 2.8.1919.

12 ASTs, CGC VG, Gabinetto, b. 52, 24/1 Circoli di Cultura nella V.G., Volosca, R. Governatorato della Venezia Giulia. Stato Maggiore – Ufficio I.T.O. Oggetto: Circoli di Cultura, 11.8.1919, 2.

service providing the higher number.[13] Despite these small numerical and descriptive differences – which display the military intelligence service's sympathies towards the Italian nationalistic association – both institutions mostly agreed on who were the "best elements of Italianness" which composed the association's executive board.[14]

The president of the *Circolo 3 Novembre* was the lawyer Noè Percich (Opatija, 1879–1951)[15]; the vice president was Ettore Costantini (Pazin, 1868–Asolo, 1949), also a lawyer[16]; the secretary was the chief of the post office Nicolò Bracco (Neresine/Nerezine, 1887–Opatija, 1930)[17]; the treasurer was the tax office clerk Ramiro Voncina (Opatija, 1895–L'Aquila, 1946)[18]; while the law student and supply office employee Lidio Vladiscovich (Volosko, 1897–Italy, ?) –later Valdini[19] – was the society librarian. The district physician Pietro Coporcich (Spalato/Split, 1869–Bolognano d'Arco, 1955),[20] the supply office employee Oscarre Suban (Trieste, 1875–Fiume, 1935),[21] and the municipal secretary Rodolfo Treo (Volosko, 1878–?, emigrated to Argentina in 1922)[22] were councilors or members of the executive board. Between January and August 1919, a change to the *Circolo*'s presidency structure should be noted. In January Pietro Coporcich was listed as president of the association, while the teacher Giuseppe Tomsich (Pula/Pola, 1890–Opatija, 1945)[23] – later Tosi – was listed as secretary (Micich, 2013)[24]. The declassing of those two was probably not the result of internal conflicts inside the association, since the figures composing the Italian nationalist leadership seemed at that time rather stable. Such an impression is proven by considering another association founded the same year.

Almost half a year after the *Circolo 3 Novembre*'s foundation, in June 1919, the Volosko-Opatija committee of the Dante Alighieri Society was established. At the beginning, the local branch of Dante counted 70 members; a month later, about 120.[25] The same month, the *Circolo 3 Novembre* was registered as a permanent member

13 Compare ASTs, CGC VG, Gabinetto, b. 52, 24/1 Circoli di Cultura nella V.G., Volosca, Legione Carabinieri Reali, Oggetto: Circoli di cultura, 2.8.1919 and R. Governatorato della Venezia Giulia. Stato Maggiore – Ufficio I.T.O. Oggetto: Circoli di Cultura, 11.8.1919, 2–3.

14 Unlike the ITO, the carabinieri noted Guido Ghergorina (Volosca, 1886–?), a state employee, as a society librarian. DARI 536, Az, CA, C, Ghergorina Guido.

15 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Percich dott. Noè.

16 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Costantini Ettore and L'Arena di Pola, 23.3.1949: Necrologio di Costantini Ettore, 4.

17 DARI 536, Az, C Bracco Nicolò.

18 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Voncina Ramiro.

19 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Valdini Lidio (già Vladiscovich). The notary Valdini is reported in Padova in 1966 among the founders of the association "Free Municipality of Fiume in Exile." L'Arena di Pola, 12.4.1966: Libero Comune di Fiume in esilio. Vuole seguire le orme del confratello zaratino, 1.

20 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Coporcich dott. Pietro and L'Arena di Pola, 27.6.1954: Ricerca, 2.

21 DARI 536, Az, CA, S Suban Oscarre and CF, IRP, Suban Oscarre.

22 DARI 536, Az, S Rodolfo Treo.

23 DARI 536, Az, Ca, Si. Tosi Giuseppe già Tomsich.

24 ASTs, CGC VG, Gabinetto, b. 52, La Direzione del Circolo 3 Novembre al Regio Commissario civile distrettuale Volosca–Abbazia per il Regio Governatorato della Venezia–Giulia (Sezione affari civili), Volosca, 28 gennaio 1919.

25 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Ufficio I.T.O. e Centri I.P., Appunti del C.I.P. di Volosca, R. Governa torato di Trieste, Ufficio I.T.O. Centro I.P. Volosca, Situazione generale, Volosca, 13.7.1919

of the Dante Alighieri Society. Such a registration displays the ties between Italian associations, an overlap evinced by the members of the executive board. The president of the local Dante Alighieri branch was Ettore Costantini; its vice president, Pietro Coporicich; secretary, Giuseppe Tomsich. The treasurer was the district tax office clerk Enea Tomassich (Opatija, 1883–?, still alive in 1945)[26]. The last two, along with Nicolò Bracco, the pharmacist Ernesto Ghersettich (Pazin, 1864–Padova, 1920),[27] the lawyer to the district commissioner's office, Demetrio Medeot (San Lorenzo di Mossa, today San Lorenzo Isontino, 1888–Trieste, 1919),[28] the maritime commissioner Gualtiero Toncich (Opatija, 1882–?, in Italy after 1945),[29] and the tax office clerk Oliviero Voncina (Prelucca/Preluk (Volosko), 1885–Opatija, 1946)[30] were the association's councilors.

The figures inside executive boards of the *Circolo 3 Novembre* and the local *Dante Alighieri* branch lead one to conclude that the predominant roles in local Italian national associations were held by individuals born in the district or former Austrian citizens who settled in Volosko-Opatija years before the war.[31] On the executive boards of both associations, those born in the 1860s and 1870s predominated over those born in 1890s.[32] The presence of several age groups suggests that the association was a reference point and an interest group for the local, nationally affiliated Italian community. That is not to say that this Italian irredentist association was inclusive. Women did not enjoy the privilege of being appointed as members of the directory of the association, though by the *Circolo 3 Novembre*'s statute their participation was not precluded. Profession and workplace are also two valuable features to understand the composition of associations. In the *Circolo*, liberal professions (two lawyers and a pharmacist) were outnumbered by civil servants (two tax office employees, a post office employee, a teacher, a supply office employee, a municipal secretary, a district commissioner employee, a district physician, and a maritime commission employee), with a borderline case of a law student employed at the supply office. While some had been appointed to their office by Italian authorities (Treo,[33] Suban,[34] and probably Valdini), many were public servants

26 DARI 536, AZ, Comune di Abbazia, Si Tomassich Enea.

27 La Voce dell'Istria, 26.6.1920: Decesso, 1.

28 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 48, 7–I, Personale del Capitanato, 1919, 7–I–a, Personale del Capitanato a) Civili, Atti relativi al sussidio alla famiglia del dott. Medeot Demetrio e minuta del Telegramma all'Ospedale Civico a Trieste.

29 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Toncich Gualtiero.

30 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Vocina Oliviero.

31 Typical examples include Costantini, Coporcich, Ghersettich and Suban The only two exceptions were Bracco and Medeot, both resident in the municipality since 1919, but who were also former Austrian citizens from prewar times. DARI 536, Az, CA, C Bracco Nicolò. Annotazioni: Residente nel Comune dal 1919.

32 Those born in the 1860s-1870s include Costantini, Coporcich, Ghersettich, Suban, and Percich, while those born in the 1880s include: Bracco, Ghergorina, Treo, Tomassich, Medeot, Toncich, and O. Voncina. R. Voncina, Vladiscovich, and Tomsich were born in the 1890s.

33 DARI 472, CVA, AR, 1921, b. 2, Ad 201/21 ris., allegato.

34 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 45, 1920, 2-C-I, Consorzio Provinciale per l'Approvvigionamento per l'Istria. Ufficio di Volosca al Commissario civile del distretto politico di Volosca, 26.6.1920.

of the former Habsburg state. Hardly of extraction from lower social strata, the two associations' leading figures thus represented a continuity of Habsburg-period, middle-class Italian national leadership.

There is one additional figure that should not be underestimated—although he was not the member of the first board of *Circolo 3 Novembre* or *Dante Alighieri*—the lawyer Ruggero Sandri (Pula, 1881–Staranzano, 1985).[35] Sandri's initial absence originates from his different residency. Before the war, Sandri was a resident and active in the Italian associations of the nearby municipality of Lovran (namely in the *Lega Nazionale* and *Filodrammatica*); after the Italian military occupation, he was appointed as a member of the town's municipal board.[36] That Sandri – whose name was among the prominent local Italian figures in Sala's report – had a certain influence is evident from Sandri's February 1919 suggestion that the authorities intern a few Croatian notables from Lovran on Sardinia (Klen, 1955, 10). In November 1919, Sandri moved to Volosko-Opatija; his name is first mentioned as member of the executive board of the *Circolo 3 Novembre* in 1921.[37] Sandri's passage, the transfer of a figure of particular importance for the local Italian national movement before the war,[38] depicts the symbolic reconfiguration of the area: the smaller and already Italian-oriented Lovran was abandoned in favor of the larger and economically prominent – and now Italianizing – Volosko-Opatija.

Although the *Circolo 3 Novembre* was formally a cultural association, it pursued larger objectives of nationalization, aiming to politically affirm its leaders and gather supporters. Already in April 1919 the *Circolo* wrote to the municipal commissioner of Volosko-Opatija, advocating the desire of residents to rename the streets, and proposed three leading figures from their association to assist the commissioner.[39] It was not only symbolic Italianization that the circle pursued. A year later, the *Circolo 3 Novembre* protested the recent employment of a "lady of nonitalian nationality" in the municipal supply office while local Italians were jobless. In the protest to the municipal commissioner, the *Circolo* even recommended some names, displaying its nature as an interest group.[40] However, events did not evolve as the local Italian nationalists desired. Despite the municipal commissioner's promise to discharge the woman, she remained in office. Three months later, the *Circolo* even claimed that the

35 DARI 536, Az, CA, Si Sandri Ruggero and L'Arena di Pola, 10.8.1985: Elargizioni, 8.

36 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 42 (new signature), 1–I–1919, Amministrazioni comunali, Comune di Laurana, Il sindaco di Laurana al Regio commissario civile del distretto politico Volosca, Laurana, 6.11.1919 e Protocollo della Giunta comunale amministrativa, 9.12.1918.

37 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 82, Il Municipio di Volosca–Abbazia al Commissario Civile Distrettuale, Volosca 26 agosto 1921, con allegato l'Elenco delle società sportive–politiche, di ritrovo e simili esistenti nel Comune di Volosca–Abbazia.

38 In 1914 Ruggero Sandri was the local Italian candidate for the Istrian Diet, cf. Il Giornaletto di Pola, 5. 6. 1914: Nel settimo distretto, 1.

39 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 42 (new signature), Comune di Volosco–Abbazia, Copia. Circolo 3 Novembre–Volosca. No. 31/1919, li 4 aprile 1919, Al Commissario straordinario Sig. Maggiore Cav. de Stadler Reggente il Municipio di Volosca.

40 DARI 472, CVA, AR, 1920, b. 2, Circolo 3 novembre al commissario straordinario, 11.4.1920.

supply office was nationally transforming as, allegedly, the Croatian language was used by those employed.[41] In October 1920, the circle again urged for changes in the municipal supply office, now also requesting that shopkeepers' signs in the municipality should be written in Italian first, according to the desire of local Italians.[42] And while the *Circolo* and the municipal commissioner had diverging views on the issue of the municipal supply office, the municipal commissioner positively replied to the association's request to obtain and distribute supplies for poor children who attended the local Italian school.[43]

The *Circolo 3 Novembre*'s leaders did not limit themselves to the successful presentation of the association's and its membership's interests as representative of local Italians. In 1920, the *Circolo* decided to buy a local typographic shop owned by Croatian-affiliated figures, allegedly to oppose its potential purchase by socialists and contain the damage it could cause to national propaganda. The initiative to obtain the propriety by "Italians of Liburnia" was considered favorably by the district commissioner, who hoped that such a purchase would be realized given its "eminently patriotic purpose (*scopo eminentemente patrio*[ttico])."[44] The same year, the *Circolo*'s executive board took the liberty to demand that the district commissioner, after the suspension of a court advisor in Volosko, do everything possible so that the former court advisor office was assigned to an

> *individual of Italian faith, that could hold up the dignity of justice and, at the same time, end the political harm the Croatian employees performed in that office to complete detriment of our nation (il posto venga coperto quanto prima da persona di fede italiana, la quale possa tenere alto il decoro della giustizia e por fine nello stesso tempo alle mene politiche che impiegati croati esplicano in quell'ufficio a tutto danno della nazione nostra).*[45]

As is clear from the aforementioned events, the *Circolo 3 Novembre* became – if it was not imagined as such from the beginning – a society functioning as a lobbying device for local Italian nationalists and their supporters in the immediate postwar period, expressing opinions and providing advice to municipal and district authorities. The association had only an advisory and not a decisional role, however, and the quoted examples show that the Italian authorities regarded the *Circolo 3 Novembre*

41 DARI 472, CVA, AR, 1920, b. 2, Circolo 3 novembre al commissario straordinario, 5.7.1920.

42 DARI 472, CVA, AR, 1920, b. 2, Circolo 3 novembre al commissario straordinario, 16.10.1920.

43 DARI 472, CVA, AR, 1920, b. 2, Circolo 3 novembre al municipio, 17.11.1920, Il commissario straordinario al Consiglio direttivo del Circolo 3 novembre, 18.12.1920..

44 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 42 (old signature), Circolo 3 novembre, Al Sig. Cav. Guido Farello Commissario Civile di Volosca, Volosca, 24 novembre 1920, N.3984, Commissariato civile del distretto politico di Volosca–Abbazia, Volosca, 28.10.1920. Oggetto: Acquisto della Tipografia Tomicic. Minuta della risposta del commissario al presidente del Circolo 3 novembre.

45 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 49, Personale dei giudizi e degli uffici Imposte distrettuali, 7–II (1920), Circolo 3 novembre al Commissario civile del distretto politico di Volosca, Volosca, 3.7.1920. Documento allegato alle pratiche Consigliere Guzeli sig. Giovanni: inchiesta.

rather as a privileged partner. Yet, before the Treaty of Rapallo and the district’s official annexation to Italy, this privileged partner was revealed to be problematic. The unstable Italian postwar political environment, the border dispute with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and Gabriele D’Annunzio’s entrance into Fiume/Rijeka in September 1919 complicated relations inside the Italian nationalist camp.

FROM VOLUNTARY DEFENDERS OF THE HOMELAND TO EXALTED ELEMENTS

According to an ITO office report from August 1919, the *Circolo* patronaged the creation of a Legion of Liburnian Volunteers (*Legione Volontari Liburnici*) and a group of young scouts.[46] The existence of this paramilitary group was not secret: it was of public domain, accepted and supported by the military authorities, displaying and enhancing the authorities’ desired loyalty of the locals to the Kingdom of Italy.

Already in May, a recently established local pro-Italian weekly reported on the organization of a *fascio dei combattenti* in Liburnia. Allegedly, in Lovran, following the rest of Italy, “the youth” decided to organize “for all eventualities,” establishing a *fascio*.[47] The same source reported that it had around hundred followers, willing to put themselves at the *fascio*’s service for the homeland. The initiative was not restricted to Lovran. The same month, the local ITO office enthusiastically reported about a private initiative of enlisted volunteers who planned to take up weapons to defend the “right cause” in case President Wilson’s April 1919 proposal – the partition of Istria with Volosko-Opatija to become part of the South Slav State (Cattaruzza, 2007, 117–119, 124) – would materialize. For the military intelligence service, the existence of this group of allegedly over 200 volunteers from Volosko to Lovran was regarded as a positive sign, suggesting the firm will of Liburnians to be part of Italy,[48] while potentially armed South Slav groups were not reported, and indeed seemed highly improbable (Dubrović, 2020).

That the *fascio* and the legion were the same group is evident by another ITO report. Two weeks after the news about the *fascio* broke, “some Liburnian volunteers belonging to ‘fascio combattenti’ (*alcuni volontari liburnici appartenti al fascio combattenti*)” were mentioned during a training march in Mošćenice promoted by the *Circolo 3 Novembre* (Klen, 1978, 73).[49] The training march—actually a procession of armed men through the Liburnian coast – offered an opportunity to see in practice how the promotion and defense of Italian nationalism was understood by the paramilitary group. Passing through Medea/Medveja, the march participants were involved in a “scuffle” caused by shouts of “Long live Wilson!” from a nearby osteria (Klen, 1978, 73).

46 ASTs, CGC VG, Gabinetto, b. 52, 24/1 Circoli di Cultura nella V.G., Volosca, R. Governatorato della Venezia Giulia. Stato Maggiore – Ufficio I.T.O. Oggetto: Circoli di Cultura, 11.8.1919, 2.

47 La Voce dell’Istria, 10.5.1919: Il fascio dei combattenti, 1.

48 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Ufficio I.T.O. e Centri I.P., Appunti del C.I.P. di Volosca, Ufficio I.T.O. Centro I.P.Volosca, Relazione quindicinale sullo spirito della popolazione e sulla situazione, Volosca, 13.5.1919.

49 La Voce dell’Istria, 24.5.1919: “Legione Liburnica”, 2.

This incident was not the first one, and the march was not the first action of that kind. On May 19, 1919, the *Circolo 3 Novembre* and the same paramilitary legionnaire group organized an excursion to Mount Maggiore/Učka to inaugurate a shelter named symbolically after the Duchess of Aosta – wife of the Italian 3rd Army commander, General Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Aosta – to whom a telegram was sent on the occasion (Klen, 1978, 73). Alongside participants from Opatija and Lovran, 40 figures from Fiume were present, a detail that should not be neglected.[50] As in the case of Medveja, the legionnaires' Italian patriotic devotion was not shared by a local Croatian teacher and some children who, during their passage through Veprinac/Apriano, shouted against Italy (Klen, 1978, 73). These circumscribed, and fortunately not particularly violent, incidents were symptoms of the contestation of Italian sovereignty, of nationalists' intransigence, but even more were signs of authorities' support for the *Circolo 3 Novembre* and local paramilitary units. All the municipal, village, and military authorities mentioned during the march enthusiastically welcomed the legionnaires, while the legionnaires' contesters were imprisoned or had to deal with the Italian authorities, as the osteria owner in Medveja did. The name of the shelter on Mount Maggiore and the telegram make crystal clear the support the paramilitary group enjoyed. One question remains, however: Who were these nameless Liburnian volunteers and their Fiumian associates?

After the testimony of the osteria owner, the Medveja incident was clarified by Captain Giorgio Conighi, attached to Volosko ITO office under the XXVI Army Corps. Conighi declared that he was in charge of the volunteers' legion, that with volunteers of Volosko–Opatija, lined up by training officers, Lovran and Fiume volunteers, and guests belonging to *Sursum Corda* – a prewar irredentists' fight training organization (Pupo, 2014, 110) – arranged for a training walk with patriotic propaganda purposes.[51] Captain Giorgio Conighi's (Fiume, 1892–Trento, 1977) presence in Liburnia and his nationalistic activities are easy to disclose. Conighi was the son of the engineer Carlo Conighi, owner of a construction company active in Fiume and Volosko-Opatija before World War One. Carlo Conighi was active in Fiumian society, president of the local Chamber of Trade and Commerce, was interned by Hungarian authorities during the war, and advocated for the city's annexation to Italy after 1918 (Varutti, 2005, 149). In the late Habsburg period, his son Giorgio was member of the Fiumian youth irredentist association *Giovine Fiume*, and during the war was a volunteer in the Italian army, obtaining a war decoration (Varutti, 2005, 150–151). The young Conighi was a typical example of ITO officers' extraction (Pupo, 2014, 109): a local irredentist with needed language

50 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Ufficio I.T.O. e Centri I.P., Appunti del C.I.P. di Volosca, Appunti del C.I.P., 17.5.1919.

51 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 42 (old signature), Comando della 3a Armata, Ufficio C.R.I.T.O. presso il XXVI° Corpo d'Armata, Al Comando XXVI° Corpo d'Armata, Ufficio Affari Generali, Oggetto: Schiarmenti circa il fatto di Medvea, 7 luglio 1919. Document signed by captain Giorgio Conighi.

expertise, knowledge of the region and, most of all, a passionate nationalist. Yet, Conighi, as a military officer with ties to local society, was not the only one with such a résumé in Liburnia.

In June 1919, at the inauguration of new Italian national street names in Volosko-Opatija, legionnaires appeared for the first time in a uniform, instructed by Conighi and four other Italian officers. Of the four, at least two were native to the Quarnero/Kvarner region: Lieutenants Perugini and d'Alloris.[52] Antonio d'Alloris was the pseudonym and battle name of Antonio Sirola (Fiume, 1891–?), assigned to the Volosko ITO office (Klinger, 2013, 193; Klen, 1978, 77), revealing once more the connections between the Italian military intelligence service and radical nationalists. Nicola Perugini (Opatija, 1885–Fiume, 1936),[53] on the other hand, embodies another common background of the more radicalized Italian nationalists in the region: the *regnicoli* (Italian citizens living in Austria–Hungary). Perugini lived in Opatija before World War One, working there as a civil engineer. However, Perugini was not Austrian; he was an Italian citizen living in Austria. At the outbreak of the war, Perugini left Opatija and enlisted in the Italian army. At the end of the war, he returned to Opatija, where, according to his obituary, he was among the founders of the *Circolo 3 Novembre* and the local Dante Alighieri Society committee.[54] Finally, there was also the name of a civilian mentioned as a legionnaire in the newspaper, the postman Nicolò Bracco, councilor of the recently founded Dante Alighieri Society branch and, in April 1919, listed as secretary of the *Circolo 3 Novembre*.

It is evident that membership in local Italian associations and paramilitary formations at least partially overlapped. Furthermore, for the Italian nationalists of Liburnia, the close organizational and ideological relations with Fiume were crucial, as well as—directly or through Fiume—contact with the Trieste-based nationalistic association *Sursum Corda*. The presence of Conighi and the recurring participation of Fiumian volunteers coincides with the formation of paramilitary units in Fiume (Klinger, 2011, 29–30; Longo, 1996, 82–84) and points out how these connections are a key to understand radicalization in this area and in *Venezia Giulia*. In addition, there is another common feature Fiume and Liburnia shared: the contested post-war status. Unlike Fiume, under interallied occupation (Kirchner Reill, 2020, 41–54), the Liburnian coast was exclusively under Italian military occupation. However, for Volosko-Opatija, like Fiume, it was still uncertain whether it would be annexed to the Kingdom of Italy. At the Paris Peace Conference in April and May 1919, US-American President Wilson and French Foreign Minister Tardieu suggested that eastern Istria, including Volosko–Opatija, not be ceded to Italy (Lederer, 1966, 226, 246–247). The undefined border issue translated into a sense of insecurity and fluctuating emotions for the local

52 La Voce dell'Istria, 28.6.1919: Volosca Redenta!, 1.

53 DARI 536, Az, C Perugini Nicola.

54 La Vedetta d'Italia, 6.3.1936: La morte di un patriota, 4.

population. According to the ITO office, in March and April 1919 local Yugoslav-oriented figures spread rumors of a territorial outcome unfavorable to Italy (Klen, 1977, 151, 167–168). At the beginning of July, the population worried about the results of the Paris Peace Conference, while at the end of the same month local Italians were sure that they would never be torn from the motherland (Klen, 1978, 86, 93). Until the Treaty of Rapallo, the Wilson line—or at least bargaining over parts of Liburnia—was still on the table during the border negotiations between Italy and the SCS Kingdom (Lederer, 1966, 256–351). It is no surprise, then, that in June 1920 *carabinieri* noticed again how pro-Italian local associations in Volosko-Opatija were easily impressionable, switching from fear of abandonment and Yugoslav vengeance to the lively hope of remaining under Italy.[55] In the same June report, the description of *Circolo 3 Novembre* members as "exalted elements capable of causing unrest due to their intransigence" was symptomatic. This harsh judgement was grounded in a specific threat, namely the destruction of a local Croatian lawyer's house if he returned to Volosko.

Recent research has underlined the significance of economic and political insecurity in the rise of violence and the fascist movement in the *Venezia Giulia* (Klabjan, 2018; Bresciani, 2019). In Volosko-Opatija, the chances of another transition of sovereignty, now to the SCS Kingdom, were even higher. The menace for local Italian nationalists was the loss of their recently acquired influence, to be defeated by the peace treaty – an important element in mobilizing a paramilitary group (Gerwarth & Horne, 2012, 3) – and, for some of them, the Italian state was not doing enough to ensure the annexation. In this regard, Gabriele D'Annunzio's entrance into Fiume was a realization of some of their hopes, triggering further radicalization.

A few days after D'Annunzio arrival in Fiume, Leo Stirn (Volosko, 1898–?), a member of the *Circolo 3 Novembre*, was walking on the local promenade with an Italian tricolor ribbon bearing text "With D'Annunzio for Fiume" when he encountered three Italian army officers. One of the officers said to Stirn "scoundrel," while Stirn replied "Lieutenant, sir, the scoundrel is probably you, and believe me that only the uniform you wear saves you from well-deserved back-handed blows."[56] This case of a young, local D'Annunzio sympathizer – and soon his follower –facing down hostile military officers could serve as a useful depiction of the divergent attitudes toward D'Annunzio's venture: there were those who fought in the war as professional soldiers, and there were the young nationalists who did not fight at all, but aspired to engage in conflict (Mondini, 2019, 55–97). The point here is that the *Circolo 3 Novembre* and its armed volunteers became a problem for Italian state authorities and even for the military that supported them. On September 6, 1919, the Governor ordered the district commissioner to conduct strict surveillance on

55 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 55, N.40/2, Riservata del Comando del corpo d'armata, Compagnia CC.RR. Volosca al Commissario civile di Volosca, Oggetto: Relazione sullo spirito pubblico. Volosca, 2.6.1920.

56 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Verbale di Rodolfo Treo, 18.9.1919.

Liburnian legionnaires: they should not join the legionnaires in Fiume and those without pertinency (in German *Heimatrecht* or in Italian *pertinenza*)[57] should be evicted from Volosko-Opatija. In an exchange of telegrams, the district commissariat provided further information on the legionnaires, assuring the Governor that they were not a threat. Formed at the beginning of June, unarmed Liburnian volunteers were helped by Italian military authorities and followed directives from Fiume, but where without documents to cross the armistice line between the *Venezia Giulia* and Fiume. Furthermore, around August the legionnaires suspended exercises due to internal dissent. The group, now reduced to 30 individuals, was incapable of violent action.[58] As a local, triumphantly fascist work later stated, the district commissioner supported the volunteers (Costantino, 1936, 15), though at the time of the mentioned telegram exchanges the district commissioner was absent, so it was his substitute that was at least diminishing the potential risk (Apollonio, 2011, 182). Yet, the allegedly "harmless" Liburnian volunteers without needed documents were still involved in D'Annunzio's occupation of Fiume.

Besides Florio and his brother Floriano Stirn (Opatija, 1894), the brothers Ramiro and Oliviero Voncina, Nicolò Bracco, Giuseppe Tomsich (Tosi), Gualtiero Toncich, and Lidio Vladiscovich, figures we saw as members of the boards of Volosko-Opatija Italian associations, appear on the legionnaires' list.[59] However, the title of 'legionnaire' does not mean they were in Fiume, but rather that they aided D'Annunzio's followers from Volosko-Opatija, as the Giuseppe Tosi folder held at the Vittoriale seems to indicate.[60] In any case, the age of the seven Liburnian legionnaires reveals that they were relatively young (the oldest one born in 1882 and the youngest born in 1898), a feature that was not shared by Oscarre Suban. The last figure, celebrated later as the "peerless leader of the *Circolo 3 Novembre*" (Costantino, 1936, 24), was a Trieste-born Italian nationalist engaged in violent prewar activities, such as attacks on German national organizations in Trieste (Klabjan, 2018, 994). Suban, however, had settled in Liburnia in 1907,[61] and came to be considered a key figure for connections between Fiume and Volosko. The other figure organizing those contacts was Nicola Perugini, again member of the *Circolo 3 Novembre*, mentioned alongside Suban as commanding the legionnaires that welcomed D'Annunzio and his troops in Fiume. Cleary a portion of local Italian nationalists radicalized, but this resulted with evident disagreements inside the Italian leadership.

57 For pertinency cf. Reill et al., 2022.

58 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Volontari Liburnici, Minute dei telegrammi.

59 https://fiume.vittoriale.it/wp–content/uploads/2019/04/archivi–elenco–dei–legionari.pdf (last access: 2022-06-05). Valdini's name doest not apper on the list, as he requested the status in 1940. Cf. AGF, S. III, Legionari e legionarie, fascicolo Valdini Livio.

60 AGF, S. III, Legionari e legionarie, fascicolo Tosi Giuseppe.

61 DARI 536, AZ, Scheda per il comune di Volosca–Abbazia di Suban Oscarre, Residente nel Comune di Volosca–Abbazia dall'anno 1907, e Scheda individuale per il comune di Fiume di Suban Oscarre, provenienza e data d'iscrizione: Volosca Abbazia im. 126/1927. Da 8/IV/1927.

At the end of December 1920, on the beginning of the open conflict between D'Annunzio's legionnaires and the Italian army, at an extraordinary *Circolo* congress – attended by only 43 individuals – the entire executive board resigned.[62] Significantly, a few days before, at the *Circolo*'s ordinary congress, the Volosca Fascist Party was established.[63] It would not come as a surprise if the *Circolo*'s members enthusiastically enlisted in the fascist movement, but the *fascio*'s own executive board seems rather to show a change in the leadership rather than a continuity with the immediate postwar associations (Costantino, 1936, 25-26). The *Circolo*'s same executive board experienced some changes, noticeable from July 1920 when Suban signed on as president and Tomassich as secretary, while in December of the same year Nicola Perugini is reported as the vice president and Oliviero Vocina as member of the board. As shown, all four D'Annunzio supporters. An evident radicalization continued with the constitution of the Fascist Party, and violent actions against political opponents from the end of 1920 increased as Domenico Costantino's *Abbazia e la riviera nella prima ora* (*Abbazia and the Riviera in the First Hour*, 1936), fascist publication celebratory of violence, testifies. It could be argued that this outcome was a legacy and a side effect of Italian military support for nationalist groups combined with existing local violent elements (Suban) and the engagement of a young generation, eager to embrace radical nationalist solutions (Klabjan, 2018, 994). Besides or rather simultaneously to the story of radicalization, Volosko-Opatija's post-Habsburg transition to the Italian state is a successful account of ascension to power of local Italian nationalists.

CONCLUSION: THE BEST ELEMENTS OF ITALIANNESS INSTITUTIONAL RECOGNITION

As we saw, in January 1919, the municipality of Volosko-Opatija was commissioned. A year later, the municipality was still under the supervision of a civil commissioner, the third in a row. By June 1920 the commissioner of the provincial board of Istria suggested to the district commissioner to appoint a municipal board to assist the special commissioner of the municipality. Given the local political situation – in June 1920 the state belonging of the district was still not settled by a peace treaty – the proposal was discharged by the district commissioner. Finally, almost a month after the Treaty of Rapallo was signed, district and provincial authorities exchanged correspondence on the regularization of the municipal administration of Volosko-Opatija. On February 2, 1921, the first post-war municipal board of Volosko-Opatija was definitely appointed by the Venezia Giulia Governor. However, it was not a manifestation of a popular vote: the board's composition was suggested by the district commissioner and relevant Croatian politicians were

---

62 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 54, Verbale dell'assemblea straordinaria tenutasi d'urgenza la sera del 26 dicembre 1920 alle 17:30.

63 La Voce dell'Istria, 18.12.1920: Da Volosca. La costituzione del fascio di combattimento nella Liburnia, 1.

excluded from the new board since they demanded a greater number of total board representatives and the election of the commissioner.[64] The seven postwar board members – without the commissioner serving as the eighth member – was made up of four Italian national representatives (Nicola Perugini, Giuseppe Tomsich, Ruggero Sandri, and Noè Percich) alongside three politically unengaged figures (Edmondo Jelusich [Edmond Jelušić], a photographer, Rodolfo Conrad [Rudolph Conrad], a tax officer, and Giuseppe [Josef] Lokey, a hotel owner). The Italian preponderance was evident; Ruggero Sandri was appointed as the commissioner's substitute, while Lokey, Conrad, and Jelusich all resigned in a few months.[65] In practical terms, the Volosko-Opatija municipality was reduced to four deputies, all members of the *Circolo 3 Novembre*. It was the formal recognition of the successful rise of local Italian nationalists to power.

The Italian military occupation of the district was indeed a turning point for the political life of Volosko-Opatija. The occupation was not merely the first stage towards the establishment of Italian sovereignty, but also a moment of Italianization and the slow rise to power of the local Italian nationalists. From the end of 1918, local leading Italian nationalist figures quickly organized an association – the *Circolo 3 Novembre* – immediately becoming the privileged interlocutor of the Italian occupational authorities. This society enjoyed financial and moral support, influenced authorities' decisions, and reversed the local political balance in their favor. There was also a side effect of this form of power transition. The Italian military support for nationalists in an officially still unsettled area proved to be an incentive for political radicalization. The encouragement of paramilitary formations guided by nationalists was a step towards a larger deployment of violence, fomenting solutions contrary to the liberal state, and thus creating favorable conditions for the nascent fascist movement. While the case study of Volosko-Opatija confirms, at the local scale, the entangled political dynamics typical for the transition from the Habsburg Empire to the Italian state at the regional level, it underlines the agency of certain locals in the transition process. The analyzed case of the *Circolo 3 Novembre* association demonstrates how transition was an opportunity for local Italian national activists to successfully present themselves to the receptive authorities as representatives of a "national community" at the local level, strengthening their Habsburg-period positions of power. At least until the rise and consolidation of the fascist regime, it can be argued that local Italian nationalists were able to expand their positions of power in the new, local postwar Italian context.

64 DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 57, N. 232/658, Decreto di nomina della Giunta comunale del Commissario generale civile per la Venezia Giulia, Trieste, 2.2.1921.

65 Lokey, for flawed Italian language knowledge, resigned in May. Conrad, for reasons of service and multiple commitments, and Jelusich, for disagreements on administrative questions and issues regarding supplies, both resigned in June 1921. DARI 616, CDVo, AG, b. 57, Commissario straordinario per il Comune di Volosca–Abbazia al Commissario Generale Civile in Trieste e per tramite del Commissariato Civile distrettuale in Volosca, Dimissioni di Lokey Giuseppe, Volosca, 26.5.1921, Copia delle dimissioni di Conrad Rodolfo, Volosca, 17.6.1921 and Copia delle dimissioni di E. Jelussich, Volosca, 17.6.1921.

I MIGLIORI ELEMENTI D'ITALIANITÀ. VZPON LOKALNE POLITIČNE MOČI IN ITALIJANIZACIJA V PRVIH LETIH PO PRVI SVETOVNI VOJNI V VOLOSKO–OPATIJI, 1918–1920

Ivan JELIČIĆ
Inštitut za politično zgodovino, Villányi út 11-13, 1114 Budimpešta, Madžarska
e–mail: jelicich.ivan@gmail.com

POVZETEK

Članek analizira naraščanje moči lokalne italijanske politične skupine v istrski občini Volosko–Opatija/Volosca–Abbazia. Študija primera kaže kako so v obdobju, ki je sledilo vojni, lokalni italijanski nacionalisti s pomočjo društva Circolo 3 Novembre vplivali na odločitve občinskih in okrožnih oblasti in postajali priviligiran partner in pritiskali na oblast. Njihov trud so simbolično in materialno podpirale italijanske okupacijske oblasti in su članovi društva obrnuli lokalno politično ravnovesje v svojo korist. Neglede na to so se odnosi z nekaterimi lokalnimi italijanskimi nacionalisti skozi čas slabšali. Podpora, ki so jo vojaške oblasti zagotavljale nacionalistom je bila v tej sporni regiji in ob nestabilni italijanski politični situaciji vzvod za politično radikalizacijo. Paravojaška skupina nacionalistov, ki je imela podporo vojske, pomagala je v D'Annunziovom okupaciji Reke in imela ulogu v ustvaranju lokalne fašistične organizacije. Vendar so najuglednejši predstavniki lokalne italijanske skupine nacionalistov uspele pridobiti institucionalno prepoznavnost, saj so bili delegirani kot člani novega mestnega sveta in s tem na glavo postavili razmerja moči v prejšnjem, habsburškem obdobju.

Ključne besede: Julijska krajina, nacionalizacija, italijanizacija, Volosko–Opatija/Volosca–Abbazia, Circolo 3 Novembre, politična radikalizacija

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

AGF, S. III – Archivio Generale Fiumano, Sezione III, Legionari e legionarie.

Apih, Elio (1966): Italia, fascismo e antifascismo nella Venezia Giulia, 1918–1943. Bari, Laterza.

Apollonio, Almerigo (2001): Dagli Asburgo a Mussolini. Venezia Giulia 1918–1922. Gorizia, LEG, Istituto regionale per la cultura istriana.

ASTs, RCGC Gab. – Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Regio Governatorato poi Commissariato Generale Civile per la Venezia Giulia, Atti di Gabinetto (1919–1922).

Bajc, Gorazd (2012): Aretacije, internacije in deportacije po prvi in drugi svetovni vojni na območju Julijske Krajine. Oris problematike in poskus primerjave. Acta Histriae, 20, 3, 389–416.

Bajc, Gorazd (2017): Dieci mesi che sconvolsero la Venezia Giulia. Il Memorandum di Londra 1915: questioni storiografiche e dettagli terminologici. Acta Histrae, 25, 4, 825–850.

Bajc, Gorazd (2018): Internments after the First World War. The Case of Women in the Northern Adriatic. Acta Histriae, 26, 4, 1017–1040.

Bon Gherardi, Silvia (1985): Politica, regime e amministrazione in Istria. In: Bon Gherardi, Silvia, Lubiana, Lucio, Millo, Anna, Vanello, Lorena & Annamaria Vinci (eds.): L'Istria fra le due guerre. Contributi per una storia sociale. Roma, Ediesse, 21–80.

Bon, Silvia (2017): Dal ribaltòn dell'Austria–Ungheria all'avvento del fascismo. Capodistria, ottobre 1918 – dicembre 1922. Quaderni, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, 28, 7–98.

Bresciani, Marco (2019): Lost in transition? The Habsburg legacy, state– and nation–building and the new fascist order in the Upper Adriatic. In: Maarten Van Ginderachter & Jon Fox (eds.): National Indifference and The History of Nationalism in Modern Europe. London, Routledge, 56–80.

Capuzzo, Ester (1992): Dal nesso asburgico alla sovranità italiana. Legislazione e amministrazione a Trento e a Trieste, 1918–1928. Milano, A. Giuffrè.

Cattaruzza, Marina (2007): L'Italia e il confine orientale, 1866–2006. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Costantino, Domenico (1936): Abbazia e la riviera nella prima ora. Memorie di uno squadrista. Seconda edizione riveduta ampliata e corredata di fotografie documentarie. Fiume, Stabilimento tipografico de „La Vedetta d'Italia".

D'Alessio, Vanni (2001): Talijani i Hrvati u Pazinu za vrijeme uspostave talijanske države (od Ville Giusti do Rapalla). In: Manin, Marino (ed.): Talijanska uprava na hrvatskom prostoru i egzodus Hrvata (1918.–1943.). Zbornik radova s Međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa. Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Društvo Egzodus istarskih Hrvata, 163–178.

D'Alessio, Vanni (2007): L'esercito italiano e "l'effettività della Redenzione" a Pisino e in Istria alla fine della Grande Guerra. Quaderni, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, 18, 379–410.

D'Alessio, Vanni (2008): From Central Europe to the Northern Adriatic: Habsburg Citizens between Italians and Croats in Istria. Journal of Modern Italian Studies, 13, 2, 237–258.

DARI, 472 – Državni Arhiv u Rijeci, Općina Opatija, Comune di Volosca Abbazia (CVA), Atti generali (Ag) and Atti Riservati (Ar).

DARI, 536 – Državni Arhiv u Rijeci, Anagrafska zbirka (Az), Comune di Abbazia (CA), Schede individuali (Si), Schede (S) or Cartellini (C); Comune di Fiume (CF), Indice del Registro di Popolazione (IRP).

DARI, 616 – Državni Arhiv u Rijeci, Građansko povjereništvo za politički kotar Volosko–Opatija 1919–1923, Commissario Distrettuale di Volosca (CDVo), Atti generali (Ag).

Delton, Paola (2016): Dignano del primo dopoguerra nella relazione circa la gestione finanziaria del comune di Dignano del commissario straordinario magg. Armando Sechi Pinna (19 agosto 1920). Quaderni, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, 27, 293–334.

Dubrović, Ervin (2020): L'organizzazione Galeb (gabbiano) contro d'Annunzio (1920). In: Giordano Bruno Guerri (ed.): Fiume 1919-2019. Un centenario europeo tra identità, memorie e prospettive di ricerca. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi sull'Impresa fiumana. Milano, Silvana editoriale, 61–74.

Dukovski, Darko (1998): Fašizam u Istri 1918–1943. Pula, CASH.

Gerwarth, Robert & John Horne (2012): Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War. An Introduction. In: Gerwarth, Robert & John Horne (eds.): War in Peace. Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1–18.

Giron, Antun (2003): Prvi akti talijanskog kraljevskog povjerenika za općinu Kastav iz 1918. godine (izbor). Zbornik Kastavštine, 11, 53–70.

Han, Diego (2016): Rovigno dalla fine della Grande guerra all'instaurazione della dittatura fascista (1919–1926). Quaderni, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, 27, 249–291.

Il Giornaletto di Pola. Pola, Tipo-litografia Fratelli Niccolini, 1914.

Jeličić, Ivan (2020): To Ensure Normal Administrative Order, and for the Population's Greater Comfort? Aspects of Post–war Transition in the Political District of Volosca–Abbazia/Volosko–Opatija. Südost–Forschungen, 79, 1, 96–123.

Kacin–Wohinz, Milica (2010): Alle origini del fascismo di confine : gli sloveni della Venezia Giulia sotto l'occupazione italiana 1918–1921. Gradisca d'Isonzo, Gorizia, Centro Isontino di Ricerca e Documentazione Storica e Sociale "Leopoldo Gasparini" Fondazione, Sklad Dorce Sardoc.

Kirchner Reill, Dominique (2020): The Fiume Crisis: Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire. Cambridge, MA, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Kirchner Reill, Dominique, Ivan Jeličić & Francesca Rolandi (2022): Redefining Citizenship after Empire: The Rights to Welfare, to Work, and to Remain in a Post-Habsburg World. Journal of Modern History, 94, 2, 326–362.

Klabjan, Borut (2018): Borders in Arms. Political Violence in the North–Eastern Adriatic after the Great War. Acta Histriae, 26, 4, 985–1002.

Klabjan, Borut & Gorazd Bajc (2021): Ogenj, ki je zajel Evropo. Narodni dom v Trstu 1920–2020. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Klinger, William (2011): Germania e Fiume. La questione fiumana nella diplomazia tedesca (1921–1924). Trieste, Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Venezia Giulia.

Klinger, William (2013): Organizzazione del regime fascista nella provincia del Carnaro (1934–1936). Quaderni, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, 24, 191–210.

Klen, Danilo (1955): Neki dokumenti o svećenstvu u Istri između dva rata. Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.

Klen, Danilo (1977): Talijanska vojna obavještajna služba u bivšoj Julijskoj krajini 1919. godine (II dio). Vjesnik historijskog arhiva u Rijeci i Pazinu, 21, 125–180.

Klen, Danilo (1978): Talijanska vojna obavještajna služba u bivšoj Julijskoj krajini 1919. godine (II dio). Vjesnik historijskog arhiva u Rijeci i Pazinu, 22, 59–118.

Kramar, Janez (1987): Izola, mesto ribicev in delavcev. Koper, Lipa.

L'Arena di Pola. Gorizia, Stabilimento Tipografico Nazionale, 1945–.

La Vedetta d'Italia. Fiume, Stabilimento tipografico La Vedetta d'Italia, 1919–1945.

La Voce dell'Istria. Laurana, Tipografia "Lovrana", 1919–1921.

Lederer, Ivo John (1966): La Jugoslavia dalla Conferenza della pace al Trattato di Rapallo, 1919-1920. Milano, Il Saggiatore.

Longo, Luigi Emilio (1996): L'esercito italiano e la questione fiumana (1918–1921), Tomo I, Testo–Parte I. Roma, Stato maggiore esercito Ufficio storico.

Micich, Marino (2013): Il martirio di Giuseppe Tosi. Ricordo di un maestro di frontiera. La Voce di Fiume, 47, 4, 14–15.

Mondini, Marco (2006): La politica delle armi. Il ruolo dell'esercito nell'avvento del fascismo. Roma, Laterza.

Mondini, Marco (2019): Fiume 1919. Una guerra civile italiana. Roma, Salerno editrice.

Muzur, Amir (1998): Kako se stvarala Opatija. Prilozi povijesti naseljavanja, grada i zdravstvenog turizma. Opatija, Katedra Čakavskog sabora.

Pupo, Raoul (ed.) (2014): La vittoria senza pace. Le occupazioni militari italiane alla fine della Grande Guerra. Roma, Bari, Laterza.

Szabo, Agneza (2008): Andrija Stanger, istaknuti hrvatski političar i zaslužni prosvjetni i kulturni djelatnik. Časopis za povijest Zapadne Hrvatske, 2–3, 59–71.

Šepić, Dragovan (1961): Istra uoči konferencije mira (Talijanska okupacija Istre 1918. i istarski Hrvati). Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 4, 349–382.

Testen Koren, Petra & Ana Cergol Paradiž (2022): The Excluded amongst the Excluded? Trst/Trieste and (Slovene) Servants after the First World War. Acta Histriae, 29, 4, 887–920.

Varutti, Elio (2005): Casi familiari di radicamento sociale del Risorgimento nel Friuli e nella Venezia Giulia. In: I moti friulani del 1864. Un episodio del risorgimento europeo, Atti del convegno San Daniele del Friuli, 29–30–31 ottobre 2004. Udine, Senaus, 131–156.

Verginella, Marta (2022): Women Teachers in the Whirlwind of Post-War Changes in the Julian March (1918–1926). Acta Histriae, 29, 4, 859–886.

Vinci, Annamaria (2011): Sentinelle della partria. Il fascismo al confine orientale 1918–1941. Roma, Bari, Laterza.

Visintin, Angelo (1998): Isontino 1918–1919. I militari e la sfida dell'annessione. Qualestoria, 1–2, 169–204.

Visintin, Angelo (2000): L'Italia a Trieste. L'operato del governo militare italiano nella Venezia Giulia 1918–1919. Trieste, Gorizia, Istituto Regionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione nel Friuli–Venezia Giulia, Libreria editrice Goriziana.

Wörsdorfer, Rolf (2009): Il confine orientale. Italia e Jugoslavia dal 1915 al 1955. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Zakošek, Boris (2005): Opatijski album. Dugo stoljeće jednog svjetskog lječilišta. Rijeka, Državni arhiv u Rijeci.

Žitko, Salvator (2016): Avstrijsko primorje v vrtincu nacionalnih, političnih in ideoloških nasprotij v času ustavne dobe (1861–1914). Koper, Knjižnica Annales Majora, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja.

Received: 2020-10-08 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.19

L'ABUSO DELLA RELIGIONE NELLA LITURGIA POLITICA DELLA FIUME DANNUNZIANA: LA BENEDIZIONE DEL PUGNALE NELLA CHIESA DI S. VITO

Marko MEDVED
Università di Fiume, Facoltà di Medicina, Via Braće Branchetta 20, 51000 Fiume, Croazia
e-mail: marko.medved.rijeka@gmail.com

SINTESI

Basandosi sull'analisi della stampa locale e di fonti d'archivio inedite, l'autore riporta alla luce fatti relativi alla vita ecclesiastica della città di Fiume durante l'occupazione di Gabriele D'Annunzio (1919–1920). L'episodio della benedizione del pugnale nella chiesa di S. Vito, donato in quell'occasione al «Comandante», provocò il ritiro da parte della Santa Sede del cappellano autore del rito. Gli ambienti nazionalisti di Fiume reagirono identificando erroneamente il colpevole nella persona del parroco croato, chiusero la chiesa dell'Assunta e preclusero le celebrazioni per quasi due mesi. In questo modo durante l'occupazione dannunziana la libertà di culto venne limitata, contrariamente a ciò che affermano coloro che nell'impresa di Fiume scorgono l'affermazione di ideali libertari. In realtà l'elaborazione della liturgia politica dannunziana e il nazionalismo posto in primo piano provocarono effetti negativi all'interno della plurinazionale comunità cattolica fiumana.

Parole chiave: Rijeka (Fiume), Valentino Liva, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Reginaldo Giuliani, Santa Sede

ABUSE OF RELIGION IN THE POLITICAL LITURGY OF D'ANNUNZIO'S RIJEKA (FIUME): THE SCANDAL OF THE BLESSING OF THE DAGGER IN ST. VITUS CHURCH

ABSTRACT

Based on his analysis of local newspapers and archive sources yet unexplored, the author sheds a light onto the facts about church life in the city of Rijeka during Gabriele D'Annunzio occupation (1919-1920). The blessing of the dagger in St. Vitus church, when the dagger was donated to D'Annunzio ("commandant") provoked a withdrawal by Holy See of the chaplain who conducted the rite. Nationalistic circles wrongly identified as a culprit the Croatian parish priest, to whom they closed the church. He could not therefore celebrate mass for almost two

months. That means that during the D'Annunzio occupation there was no religious freedom, contrary to the assertions of those who see the affirmation of ideals of liberty in the occupation of Rijeka. In fact, the elaboration of a political liturgy, which put nationalism in the centre, had a negative impact on the multi-ethnic Church in Rijeka.

Key words: Rijeka (Fiume), Valentino Liva, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Reginaldo Giuliani, Holy See

INTRODUZIONE

La città di Fiume (in croato Rijeka) costituiva sino al 1918 un *corpus separatum* ungherese. La fine della Grande guerra provocò lo smembramento dell'Impero asburgico e lo sconvolgimento politico-statale dell'intera Europa centrale. Nel Primo dopoguerra la storia della città, esclusa dai territori previsti dal Patto di Londra del 1915, venne segnata dal conflitto tra italiani e croati. In quest'epoca l'impresa fiumana di Gabriele d'Annunzio (settembre 1919 – gennaio 1921) pose la questione della città adriatica al centro dell'opinione pubblica non solo italiana.

La storiografia italiana su d'Annunzio è molto vasta, ma nella maggiorparte dei casi ignora la bibliografia in lingua croata. Per comprendere gli effetti del nazionalismo di d'Annunzio sulla plurinazionale comunità di Fiume è necessario ricorrere alla storiografia di entrambe le lingue. Questo saggio intende esaminare le conseguenze deleterie dell'impresa dannunziana in ambito religioso, appoggiandosi all'inesplorato fondo archivistico del visitatore e poi delegato apostolico Valentino Liva, conservato presso il Capitolo collegiale di Cividale del Friuli.

VALENTINO LIVA, VISITATORE APOSTOLICO E DELEGATO APOSTOLICO DI FIUME

Fiume, alla fine della Grande guerra, era costituita dalla parrocchia dell'Assunta soggetta alla diocesi di Segna (Bogović, 1997, 17–42). La situazione politica si riverberava inevitabilmente su quella ecclesiastica[1]. Le autorità politiche cittadine, rappresentate nel Consiglio Nazionale italiano, chiedevano insistentemente alla Santa Sede l'invio di un rappresentante che sostituisse la giurisidizione del vescovo croato sulla città, oltre all'italianizzazione del convento dei cappuccini e delle religiose di S. Vincenzo operanti in seno alle strutture sanitarie cittadine (Scottà, 1994, 323–324). In base a ciò, il 10 maggio 1919 il Vaticano nominava

1 Sulla storiografia ecclesiastica di Fiume dopo il 1918 cf. Medved, 2015.

visitatore apostolico di Fiume mons. Valentino Liva, decano del Capitolo di Cividale (Scottà, 1994, 289)[2]. La prima parte della missione fiumana di Liva quale visitatore si svolse dal 16 maggio al 20 luglio 1919. Dopodiché il canonico tornò a Fiume saltuariamente, in veste di delegato apostolico e con mandato *ad negotia particularia* della Congregazione concistoriale (NAR-PC, fasc. Erezione parrocchie, 5–8)[3].

Come appare chiaro dalla corrispondenza tra Liva e il cardinale Segretario di Stato Pietro Gasparri, la Santa Sede dapprima si oppose alle richieste di cambiamento dello status ecclesiastico di Fiume. Tuttavia dalla primavera 1920, ossia dalla nomina ad amministratore apostolico di Celso Costantini, avvenuta il 30 aprile, la città venne di fatto estromessa dall'autorità del vescovo di Segna. Oggi nell'opinione pubblica italiana si confonde erroneamente il visitatore apostolico Valentino Liva con l'amministratore apostolico Celso Costantini, anche da chi si ritiene competente (de Vergottini, 2019)[4].

Grazie agli appunti personali di Liva possiamo appurare che dopo la Grande guerra la cura pastorale a Fiume era affidata a sedici sacerdoti. Tale computo, in cui si annoverano il parroco, quattro canonici, catechisti e cappellani, era rimasto invariato sin dal 1916 (*Schematismus*, 1916, 146–148). A capo del clero erano il parroco Ivan Kukanić e l'arcidiacono Ignac Martinec, croati. Quattro, all'epoca, erano stati i sacerdoti italiani: Luigi Maria Torcoletti, Giovanni Regalati, Adolf Kötschen (in seguito italianizzò il cognome in Rossini) e Giovanni Podboj (italianizzato in Poggi)[5]. Di fronte alla questione dell'appartenenza della città, il clero fiumano si era diviso in base all'etnia dei singoli sacerdoti. Preti politicamente impegnati erano stati Augustin Juretić in seno al Consiglio nazionale jugoslavo e Luigi Maria Torcoletti presso quello italiano.

L'arrivo di Gabriele d'Annunzio il 12 settembre 1919 sconvolse la compagine ecclesiastica fiumana, dato che la maggioranza dei sacerdoti croati fuggì dalla città. Nei mesi a seguire, dalla città e dall'hinterland occupato, alcune migliaia

2 Mons. Valentino Liva (1867–1947), laureato in diritto canonico, fu decano del Capitolo dell'Insigne collegiata di Santa Maria Assunta di Cividale, arciprete e vicario foraneo. Durante la Grande guerra si impegnò a far pervenire aiuti e protezione nei mesi dell'occupazione dell'esercito austriaco.

3 Lettera di Valentino Liva all'aministratore apostolico di Fiume Celso Costantini del 21 maggio 1920.

4 Cf. la polemica in occasione dell'erezione del monumento a d'Annunzio a Trieste tra Marko Medved (A Fiume d'Annunzio sconvolse la vita della Chiesa cattolica (Il Piccolo, 19.07.2019, 24)) e Guido de Vergottini (I rapporti del Vate con la Santa Sede dopo l'occupazione di Fiume (Il Piccolo, 24.07.2019, 26)). In Italia, in non poche occasioni, ancor oggi si esprimono giudizi storiografici sull'Istria e Fiume che non si basano sulla consultazione di fonti e bibliografia in lingua croata e slovena, e nonostante ciò godono di un'acritica diffusione nell'opinione pubblica.

5 Della dettagliata relazione di Liva alla Santa Sede del 20 luglio 1919 sulla situazione religiosa a Fiume, conservata nell'Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, cf. Valente, 2014, 74–75. Tuttavia nessuno ha fatto uso dell'archivio privato di Liva presso il Capitolo collegiale di Cividale del Friuli. I quattro sacerdoti italiani vengono esplicitamente nominati negli appunti privati del 19 maggio 1919 ivi conservati.

di croati abbandonarono le loro case e trovarono rifugio in Croazia, cioè nel Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni[6]. Ambedue le parrocchie, la centralissima Assunta e la periferica Drenova, rimasero senza parroci. I croati Kukanić e Polić fuggirono, ma il primo fece ritorno dopo essersi allontanato il 18 settembre. In assenza di sacerdoti, la cura pastorale fu organizzata dal canonico Nándos (Ferdinando) Sándorffy (Medved, 2015, 165). Dei sedici sacerdoti presenti a Fiume prima dell‘inizio dell‘occupazione dannunziana, dopo il 12 settembre erano rimasti quattro italiani e quattro croati, dato che la maggior parte dei presbiteri croati fuggì senza far ritorno. In seguito, la componente italiana del clero venne rafforzata proprio da Liva, che nel febbraio 1920 portò a Fiume due catechisti dall'Italia, Niccolò Pavan ed Ilario Bertin. Negli anni Venti vi giunsero altri sacerdoti italiani con gli amministratori apostolici e vescovi Celso Costantini e Isidoro Sain (Medved, 2015, 238–247, 369–407)[7].

CAPPELLANI MILITARI A FIUME

La presenza dei cappellani in seno all‘esercito regio italiano nella Grande guerra ha agevolato la normalizzazione dei rapporti tra Chiesa e Stato anticipando, in una certa misura, la conciliazione avvenuta con i Patti lateranensi del 1929[8]. Il ripristino dei cappellani militari nell‘esercito nel 1915 segnò il riavvicinamento tra Chiesa e Stato, ma lo subordinò alla propaganda dei principi patriottici. Gli studi sull‘opera dei cappellani militari documentano ampiamente come i sacerdoti designati abbiano considerato la loro attività un compito nazionale e patriottico. La guerra, insomma, non costituì un‘occasione di conversione e di rinascita spirituale, ma fu un fattore di involuzione religiosa e talvolta di corruzione della fede (Monticone, 2015, X–XI).

Dopo aver profuso la loro opera durante la Grande guerra, diversi cappellani si recarono a Fiume con il folto gruppo dannunziano. Non siamo in grado di stabilirne il numero esatto dato che alcuni si trovavano in città già dal novembre 1918 per occuparsi delle truppe regolari ed alleate. Lo status giuridico, cioè canonico, dei cappellani militari durante l‘impresa fiumana non era ben chiaro. Per la cura pastorale dei soldati alcuni cappellani disponevano dei decreti rilasciati dell‘esercito regio, che aveva occupato i territori istriani e dalmati immediatamente dopo l‘armistizio con l‘Austria. In seguito a frequenti internamenti di sacerdoti croati e sloveni, effettuati dalle autorità militari italiane,

6 L'Archivio di Stato di Zagabria conserva il registro degli esuli croati da Fiume steso dall'omonimo comitato con sede a Zagabria, che solo nei primi tre mesi di occupazione dannunziana ha superato duemila profughi in territorio del Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni. L'Archivio di Stato di Fiume sta per pubblicare tali fonti col titolo "Izbjeglice i štete za D'Annunzijeva režima" (Rifugiati e danni durante il regime di d'Annunzio).

7 Su vari aspetti del rapporto tra d'Annunzio e Celso Costantini a Fiume cf.: Medved, 2012.

8 Sui cappellani, e in generale sull'assistenza spirituale nell'esercito italiano tra le due guerre, cf.: Franzinelli, 1995.

il cui esempio forse più famoso è rappresentato dal vescovo di Veglia Anton Mahnić, ai cappellani militari vennero assegnati anche compiti pastorali presso la popolazione locale scatenando, tra l‘altro, gravi tensioni soprattutto per l‘imposizione della lingua italiana ai fedeli croati e sloveni.

Reginaldo Giuliani era uno dei cappellani preposti ai legionari dannunziani. Negli anni Venti e Trenta divenne il più famoso cappellano militare fascista. Partecipò alla campagna d‘Etiopia, dove trovò la morte[9]. L‘interesse dell‘opinione pubblica per Giuliani iniziò durante l‘impresa fiumana a seguito della benedizione del pugnale donato a d‘Annunzio il 20 gennaio 1920. Tale episodio non è ignorato dalla storiografia, ma sono rimasti sconosciuti gli aspetti legati al ruolo svolto dalla Santa Sede e le ripercussioni relative (Ledeen, 1975, 203; Gerra, 1974, 230, 238). Nella storiografia croata circolavano i nomi errati di Reginaldo Romualdi e Reginaldo Remuldi in quanto alcuni autori consideravano fonte attendibile il politico zanelliano fiumano Giovanni Dalma, autonomista e membro della Costituente fiumana nel 1921 (Dalma, 1980, 46).

LA BENEDIZIONE DEL PUGNALE DONATO A D‘ANNUNZIO

Durante la Reggenza italiana del Carnaro d‘Annunzio cercò di sacralizzare la politica mediante un vero e proprio culto laico costituito da celebrazioni, anniversari e raduni con rispettive coreografie[10]. A questo *modus operandi* di Fiume attingerà il ventennio fascista ponendovi il proprio sigillo. La mistica patriottica consisteva in “liturgie politiche“ con celebrante il Vate in cui la Patria era assurta a idolo (Pupo, 2018, 98–102). Naturalmente, il Dio trascendente cristiano ne era assente (Agrì, 2014, 162–3). In ambiente extra-ecclesiastico e del tutto secolare, i discorsi dannunziani si riallacciavano sovente a tematiche cristiane e fattispecie della liturgia. L‘utilizzo di oggetti in queste cerimonie assumeva la valenza di quello che in ambito ecclesiastico era proprio delle reliquie. La storiografia ha già evidenziato la presenza di caratteri cristologici nella retorica fiumana di d‘Annunzio, in connubio col nazionalismo, la virilità, la maternità ecc. (Spackman, 1996, 17).

In uno studio recente, Simonelli analizza appunto i riti civili durante l‘epopea fiumana e l‘uso che ne fece la politica negli anni a seguire, distinguendovi il culto della vita e il culto della morte, il segno-pegno, l‘arengo ecc. (Simonelli, 2021, 223-278). L‘autore Ledeen afferma che d‘Annunzio a Fiume “si era impegnato nel creare un nuovo tipo di liturgia, una liturgia che

9 Per un giudizio storiografico su Giuliani cf.: Cavagnini, 2010; Franzinelli, 1995, 30–34; Morozzo della Rocca, 2015, 98–99. Dopo la morte di Giuliani in Africa, vennero pubblicate varie opere che, nell’ambito della propaganda fascista, ne celebrarono le gesta.

10 Il dibattito storiografico sull’interpretazione dell’impresa fiumana è molto ricco. Oltre al recente studio di Federico Carlo Simonelli, segnaliamo Renzo De Felice, George Mosse, Michael Ledeen, Enrico Serventi Longhi, Emilio Gentile e Claudia Salaris.

avrebbe avuto un ruolo della massima importanza nell'evoluzione delle feste pubbliche" (Ledeen, 1975, 200). Prova è quello che successe il 20 gennaio 1920, giorno in cui il calendario liturgico celebra i santi Sebastiano e Fabiano. In quella data, in cui i fedeli fiumani tradizionalmente si recavano di buon mattino in processione nell'omonima chiesa, il sindaco Riccardo Gigante aveva invitato la cittadinanza a radunarsi altresì, in tarda mattinata, nella chiesa di S. Vito per assistere ad un'ennesima manifestazione dannunziana: un gruppo di donne fiumane avrebbe donato al «Comandante» un pugnale. Stavolta, però, la liturgia dannunziana si sarebbe svolta all'interno dell'ambiente sacro di una chiesa.

Nella ricostruzione dell'evento seguiamo la cronaca del locale quotidiano *La Vedetta d'Italia*, giornale fondato dai circoli fiumani favorevoli all'annessione della città all'Italia. La cerimonia della benedizione si svolse in gran pompa, in presenza delle autorità, con discorsi della rappresentante delle donne e del Vate. Il cappellano Giuliani, religioso domenicano, ha celebrato la messa e compiuto la benedizione, ma non sembra abbia pronunciato alcuna omelia. Il discorso della rappresentante dell'associazione di donne fiumane, Anna Farina, viene riportato *in toto* dal giornale. Con uso frequente di termini cristiani in commistione con il patriottismo ed il nazionalismo ("martirio nostro", "passione nostra", "arma santa"), il discorso dell'"offerta religiosa" del pugnale si concluse auspicando che "con esso [si] poss[a] al fine incidere sulla viva carne dei nostri nemici la parola ,Vittoria'"[11]. Dopo di ciò, come riporta il cronista, il gruppo di donne fiumane, costituitosi in comitato, consegnò al «Comandante» il pugnale benedetto. L'arma in argento era stata forgiata dall'artista Alberto Bissarro nell'officina dell'orafo Mario Štokić, con incise le seguenti parole: "Tu con noi, noi con te!" La dedica, scritta su una pergamena, era stata composta da Alfredo Bertolo.

Preso in consegna il pugnale, d'Annunzio si rivolse alla folla che gremiva la chiesa. Dapprima parlò della figura di S. Sebastiano che conosceva bene, avendo collaborato alla stesura de "Il Martirio di San Sebastiano" del compositore francese Claude Debussy (Ledeen, 203). Rievocando la processione di quella mattina, a cui aveva assistito, descrisse il martirio di Sebastiano ponendo l'accento sulle saette che colpiscono il martire, per ricollegarsi al pugnale che definisce "sacramento del ferro, sacramento che conferma il patto di sangue". Chiamando il Giuliani "sacerdote armato", il martirio subito dal Santo nel III secolo viene additato dal poeta quale esempio per l'opera che le truppe dannunziane erano chiamate a compiere nella città olocausta. Sotto la volta della chiesa di S. Vito, d'Annunzio rivolse un richiamo ai propri soldati invitandoli ad unire la loro arma a quel pugnale benedetto, dando suggello al "sacramento mattutino". Lo scrittore, infine, chiude il discorso inneggiando alla forza, alla fedeltà e alla vittoria dei suoi soldati.

11 Il devoto omaggio delle donne fiumane a Gabriele d'Annunzio (La Vedetta d'Italia, 21.1.1920, 2).



Fig. 1: Reginaldo Giuliani celebra messa in Piazza Dante (oggi Trg Republike Hrvatske), Cronaca della parrocchia dell'Assunta (Arhiv Župe Uznesenja Marijina, Rijeka).

Riportiamo tutto il discorso di d‘Annunzio, così come lo troviamo nel quotidiano citato del 21 gennaio 1920 col titolo „Nella chiesa di San Vito per l‘offerta del pugnale votivo“:

Sorelle in Cristo, fratelli nel Dio vivo, già ricevetti da voi il lauro non piegato, il fiore non legato, il vessillo tessuto con le fibre del cuore dolente, e le lacrime senza parole, e il sorriso illuminato come sono illuminati gli occhi prima di piangere: tutti i doni, tutti i segni, ma non quello che consacra il difensore e l‘assalitore, non questo. Nella chiesa dove giurava il Capitano ed era dalla campana convocato il Consiglio del popolo, io da voi ricevo il sacramento del ferro, il sacramento che conferma il patto di sangue. E io lo ricevo, per grazia del Signore e della vostra virtù, lo ricevo quando la troppo lunga attesa è riscossa dall‘allarme e quando l‘allarme ci trova tutti in piedi e pronti. Abbiamo vegliato tutta la notte, nelle tenebre senza stelle, per cogliere l‘annunzio della mutilazione, come nelle vigilie di primavera i divoti del Santo, da cui questo giorno prende il nome, vegliavano aspettando che gli anemoni fiorissero. Prima dell‘alba abbiamo accompagnato verso l‘altare della città vecchia il giovine soldato di Cristo, l‘Arciere della Vita, il martire sanguinante che disse: È necessario che ogni altare sia fondato nel sangue dei credenti. Abbiamo accompagnato al suo sacrario il martire saettato che disse: Io sono il segno colpito e sono il dardo che lo colpisce. Nell‘ora della rugiada, che è la sorella della lacrima calda, come canta il Mistico, noi abbiamo ricelebrato il mistero di San Sebastiano. Non lieve rugiada ma greve pioggia. La luce non era fatta dall‘alba ma dai ceri e dai volti umani. Nella calle stretta, nella calle veneta, tutte le finestre avevano le loro fiammelle e le loro fronde e i segni di croce su i volti di tutte le età. I riccioli del bimbo sfioravano le rughe del vecchio reclinato; e la preghiera faceva d‘ogni pietra di davanzale una tavola d‘altare, e d‘ogni vaso di fiori un reliquiario. Il Santo non era forse visibile agli occhi dell‘anima fervente? Tutti i dardi confitti nel divino corpo rilucevano come i raggi primi. E, nella visione di quelle ferite senza numero, i legionari sentivano riardere le loro. E i limiti della città fremevano nel fosco mattino come gli orti dello stendardo. L‘Arciere della Vita aveva gridato agli Arcieri della Morte: ‚Io vi dico, io vi dico: quegli che più profondo mi ferisce, quegli mi ama più profondamente. Ogni freccia è per me la salvazione, perché. Mirate da presso. Io sono il Segno.‘ La prima saetta gli percosse il ginocchio, si fissò nel modo dell‘osso, oscillando. L‘ultima gli passò da parte a parte la grande vena dove il collo si congiunge con la spalla. Una donna come voi pietosa e come voi di grande animo, sorelle, sciolse il corpo legato al tronco, lo avvolse nel lino, e lo trafugò. Poi trasse a una a una dalle ferite le saette mortali. Voglio pensare che col ferro della prima e dell‘ultima, sorelle, è battuta la lama di questo pugnale votivo: col filo del primo dolore e con la lunta dell‘ultimo fervore. L‘Arciere della Vita gridava nel supplizio: ‚Io muoio di non morire.‘ Gridava sanguinando: ‚Non basta!



Fig. 2: Reginaldo Giuliani parla alla folla il 12 ottobre 1919 raccolta nel porto, Cronaca della parrocchia dell‘Assunta (Arhiv Župe Uznesenja Marijina, Rijeka).

> *Non basta! Ancora‘ Gridava: ‚Rivivrò. Ma per rivivere conviene ch‘io muoia.‘ Immortalità dell‘amore! Eternità del sacrifizio! Le vie dell‘immolazione sono le più certe; e il sangue dell‘eroe o dell‘eroina è inesauribile. Voi lo sapete, sorelle in Cristo, fratelli nel Dio vivo. Questo è il senso di questo mistero. Questa è la significazione di questo dono. Un uomo di preghiera e di battaglia l‘ha benedetto. L‘ha benedetto un sacerdote armato. ‚Arciere della Vita, io benedico il tuo occhio, la tua mano, il tuo arco, le tue saette.‘ gridò a Sebastiano una voce terrestre. Mie Fiamme nere, bisogna che nella Madre Chiesa del popolo di San Vito la vostra benedizione si aggiunga a questa lama benedetta, e che verso quest‘arme preziossima si levino le vostre armi rozze; cosicché questo sacramento mattutino mi sia da voi confermato. Compagni, a chi la forza? A noi! A chi la fedeltà? A noi! A chi la vittoria? A noi! Così sia* (La Vedetta d‘Italia, 21.1.1920, 1).

Il maggior oppositore politico di d‘Annunzio a Fiume era il capo degli autonomisti Riccardo Zanella. Dato che in quel periodo costui era a Roma per informare il governo Nitti, non stupisce l‘interpretazione secondo cui l‘arma fosse donata al Poeta con l‘intenzione di venir usata contro i nemici, compresi gli zanelliani e il loro leader (Dalma, 1980, 47).

LA REAZIONE DELLA SANTA SEDE

La benedizione fu un vero e proprio scandalo che suscitò l‘attenzione della stampa. Alcuni sacerdoti italiani di Fiume – capeggiati da Torcoletti – cercarono di scagionare il cappellano, rimarcando la distinzione tra liturgia e consegna del pugnale (*L‘Avvenire d‘Italia*, 31 gennaio 1920).

Liva, informato dell‘accaduto da un altro cappellano fiumano, quattro giorni dopo scrisse a Giuliani esortandolo allo spirito sacerdotale nello svolgimento del suo ministero[12]. Liva informò poi la Santa Sede definendo la benedizione “una cerimonia sconventientissima“ che provocò il disgusto degli altri cappellani[13]. L‘*affaire* Giuliani, data la sua gravità e le conseguenti implicazioni politiche, non riguardava solo la Congregazione concistoriale, da cui Liva dipendeva. Pertanto, il segretario di Stato card. Pietro Gasparri chiese a Liva, assente da Fiume, di raccogliere tutte le informazioni necessarie su “una voce così grave“, e di comunicare a Giuliani, “qualora la cosa rispondesse a verità, che il Santo Padre lo sospende[va] *a divinis*“[14]. Liva frenò sulla pena da comminare al religioso, suggerendo innanzitutto il ritiro del cappellano, dato che “punire altrimenti allargherebbe lo scandalo e aggraverebbe in generale la situazione religiosa“[15]. Nella lettera del 15 febbraio 1920 egli comunicava al card. De Lai di essersi recato nuovamente a Fiume proprio in seguito allo scandalo. Definendo Giuliani “fantastico ed entusiasmato“ ma di “contegno morale“, suggeriva alla Santa Sede di intervenire presso la provincia piemontese dei domenicani per sollecitarne il ritiro. Nel far ciò, ribadì la sua contrarietà alla proposta della sospensione *a divinis*[16].

---

12 “Sento il dovere di ripeterle l’esortazione che già le feci più volte, quando la vidi di persona. Nell’esercizio del suo ministero sacerdotale segua sempre e fedelmente la linea diritta, tracciata per noi ministri di Gesù Criso, dal carattere sacro della nostra missione spirituale“. ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva a Reginaldo Giuliani del 24 gennaio 1920. L’Archivio del Capitolo collegiale di Cividale del Friuli nel fondo Valentino Liva conserva la corrispondenza del sacerdote, il quale, oltre ad essere delegato apostolico di Fiume, fu canonico, decano, arciprete e vicario foraneo a Cividale. Tali atti, tra cui numerose minute, non sono numerati ma sono ordinati in base agli uffici svolti dal canonico di Cividale.

13 “Al presente dà motivo a richiami solo il p. Giuliani al quale scrissi già in termini gravi per la parte presa anche da lui nella sconventientissima cerimonia della benedizione di un pugnale offerto dalle donne fiumane a D’Annunzio. Il fatto addolorò gli altri cappellani uno dei quali mi scrisse esprimendone la più franca disapprovazione.“ ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva al segretario della Congregazione concistoriale Gaetano De Lai del 26 gennaio 1920.

14 ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera del cardinale segretario di Stato Pietro Gasparri a Valentino Liva del 9 febbraio 1920.

15 ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva al cardinale segretario di Stato Pietro Gasparri del 12 febbraio 1920.

16 “Riguardo al p. Giuliani scrissi già a S.E. il card. Gasparri pregando di nuove istruzioni prima di auspicare la sospensione a divinis al ricordato padre. Per la gravità delle cose data la presente tensione di animi, e tenuto conto dell’animo di p. Giuliani, fantastico ed entusiasmato, ma sinora corretto nel suo contegno morale, espongo modestamente anche a V.E. il parere che innanzitutto, prima della applicazione di altri castighi, sarebbe opportuno far richiamare dei superiori dei domenicani il padre.“ ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva al segretario della Congregazione concistoriale cardinale Gaetano De Lai del 15 febbraio 1920.



Fig. 3: Reginaldo Giuliani con le decorazioni militari, Cronaca della parrocchia dell'Assunta. L'autore di questo saggio è riconoscente a Federico Carlo Simonelli il quale gli ha segnalato che la colorazione successiva della foto ha sbagliato quasi tutti i colori delle medaglie. Dettaglio forse di poco conto per l'ambiente ecclesiastico che aveva prodotto la cartolina, ma non per il mondo militare cui apparteneva Giuliani, aggiunge Simonelli (Arhiv Župe Uznesenja Marijina, Rijeka).

Liva cercava in ogni modo di evitare una reazione spropositata dei fiumani al ritiro di Giuliani, dato che già altri cappellani erano stati richiamati in quel torno di tempo. Inoltre, egli non intendeva compromettere il mantenimento di due catechisti che aveva portato a Fiume, dal momento che l'onere era stato assunto dalle autorità cittadine. Come attesta la corrispondenza di Liva col provinciale domenicano Berro, Giuliani non ubbidì alle richieste dei superiori e rimase a Fiume per oltre due mesi dopo la benedizione del pugnale[17]. L'11 marzo il card. De Lai spedì a Liva una lettera per Giuliani contenente le disposizioni del provinciale domenicano, dopo di che finalmente il cappellano lasciò la città tra il 23 e il 24 marzo.

Le lettere dell'archivio privato di Liva, conservato presso il Capitolo collegiale di Cividale, rivelano altri dati preziosi. Nella lettera del vescovo castrense Angelo Bartolomasi dell'8 luglio 1919, due mesi prima dell'impresa fiumana d'Annunzio, l'ordinario militare comunicava a Liva di aver saputo "che fu costituito un corpo di volontari per Fiume", chiedendo per quest'ultimi l'assistenza religiosa[18]. La missiva, pertanto, rivela informazioni sui preparativi dell'occupazione di Fiume ben avviati già all'inizio del luglio 1919. È interessante altresì la notizia, comunicata al Segretario di Stato a fine ottobre 1919, circa l'intenzione dei legionari di marciare, oltre che a Fiume, anche su Roma[19].

CONSEGUENZE DELLA RIMOZIONE DI GIULIANI

Il caso Giuliani suscitò nei circoli politici italiani di Fiume una forte opposizione nei confronti del rappresentante pontificio, come riferì Liva al provinciale dei domenicani piemontesi[20]. Ringraziando il sacerdote fiumano Torcoletti per averlo informato "che i circoli si mettono contro il visitatore apostolico", Liva aggiungeva di "non cercare chi ne sia responsabile"[21]. Oltre che dal caso Giuliani, l'insofferenza verso Liva era causata anche dalla sua opposizione al distacco di Fiume dalla diocesi croata di Segna, nonché dal suo rifiuto di mutare la composizione etnica delle religiose croate di S. Vincenzo, operanti nell'ospedale cittadino e del convento dei

17 ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettere di Valentino Liva rivolte al provinciale dei domenicani piemontesi Benedetto Berro del 18 e del 20 marzo 1920.

18 "La notizia è molto vaga; ma qualche padre di volontari mi esprime il desiderio che fosse provveduta l'assistenza religiosa per i medesimi". ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera dell'ordinario militare Angelo Bartolomasi a Valentino Liva dell'8 luglio 1919.

19 "La situazione politica di Fiume è estremamente tesa. Le truppe di d'Annunzio, composte in gran parte di elementi turbolentissimi, intendono di raggiungere la loro meta a costo di qualunque violenza anche facendo saltare Fiume, e marciando poi contro Roma. La popolazione continua in gran parte a professare la sua italianità, ma il terrorismo incombe e non lascia intravedere se la maggioranza voglia l'annessione o l'autonomia." ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva al cardinale segretario di Stato Pietro Gasparri del 25 ottobre 1919.

20 "In quei circoli politici si accusa me, visitatore apostolico di quella città di aver male informato la S. Sede a danno di P. Giuliani: ciò purtroppo mi impedisce di più ingerirmi nella delicatissima questione". ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva al provinciale dei domenicani piemontesi Benedetto Berro del 20 marzo 1920.

21 ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva al sacerdote fiumano Luigi Maria Torcoletti del 18 marzo 1920.

cappuccini[22]. Liva, pertanto, chiese alla Santa Sede di rimuoverlo dall'incarico. Si era reso conto di non essere più ben accetto a Fiume, e che ciò gli avrebbe precluso di espletare le mansioni affidategli dal Vaticano[23].

LA PROPAGANDA CONTRO IL PARROCO CROATO E LA CHIUSURA DEL DUOMO

L'ira dei circoli nazionalisti aveva bisogno di trovare un capro espiatorio per il ritiro del cappellano dei legionari. In assenza di Liva, ritenendone erroneamente colpevole il parroco Ivan Kukanić, un nutrito gruppo di persone capeggiato da alcune donne irruppe il 24 marzo nell'abitazione del sacerdote croato, che qualche giorno prima era fuggito nell'entroterra fiumano (Jelenje). L'appartamento venne messo a soqquadro e gli scalmanati s'impossessarono delle chiavi della chiesa parrocchiale dell'Assunta, impedendovi lo svolgimento della liturgia.

Anche di questo caso veniamo a conoscenza tramite la cronaca del quotidiano *La Vedetta d'Italia*, la quale però omette un particolare non trascurabile. Nella chiesa dell'Assunta, detta anche Duomo, sede della parrocchia e del capitolo, in quei giorni, si sarebbero dovuti tenere i riti della Settimana Santa in lingua paleoslava, retaggio di una plurisecolare tradizione locale (Bogović, 223). Il titolo del violento articolo mette in relazione il ritiro del cappellano con l' "italofobo" Kukanić. Informando che il cappellano è stato richiamato dal Vaticano, si spiega che il ritiro è avvenuto in quanto "a volte basta un'inezia, un nonnulla, una semplice denuncia anonima o il rapporto fegatoso di un altro prete". L'articolo, non firmato, scatenò una violenta campagna di propaganda sciovinista contro quello che viene definito "il pretume croato della città", puntando soprattutto contro Kukanić. Per il quotidiano nazionalista, Giuliani fece "opera sana e durevole di italianità" nell'ambiente religioso di Fiume, "da troppo oramai infeudato alla propaganda italofoba e reazionaria dei padri devoti a Santa Jugoslavia". Inoltre, al cappellano si ascrive il merito di aver apportato la predicazione italiana presso il convento cappuccino, il che non corrispondeva a verità. Il giornale accusa direttamente Kukanić di essere il colpevole del ritiro di Giuliani. Non si usano mezzi termini nel dimostrare che la colpa del ritiro di Giuliani vada addebitata a lui, "bellicoso" e "incurabile italofobo", e che tutto ciò che è seguito non sarebbe stato altro che la reazione della citadinanza: "La sua partenza, perfidamente determinata dalla livida fegatosità del parroco, è bastata a far scoppiare un vero

22 Nella lettera al sacerdote Torcoletti, il quale gli manifestava le accuse rivoltegli da Fiume, Liva scrive che "..la verità è per ogni innovazione ecclesiastica di Fiume fu affermato soltanto ciò che la Santa Sede affermò… i necessari provvedimenti verranno presi opportunatamente a situazione politica definitiva". ACCC-VL, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume, senza numero. Lettera di Valentino Liva a Luigi Maria Torcoletti del 18 marzo 1920. Riguardo alla questione delle religiose e dei religiosi croati cf.: Medved, 2015, 169, 248–249, 403–407.

23 La corrispondenza di Liva col capostipite dei sacerdoti italiani a Fiume, Luigi Maria Torcoletti, come abbiamo visto, lo attesta. Un'ulteriore conferma la troviamo altresì nella lettera del 20 maggio 1920 inviata a Valentino Liva dal segretario del cardinale Gaetano De Lai Giovanni Battista Rosa.

movimento popolare d'indignazione e di protesta"[24]. Dopo l'irruzione nella casa del sacerdote, il gruppo si recò al Palazzo del Governatore, sede di d'Annunzio, dove li ricevette il capitano Coselschi. Quest'ultimo suggellò le intenzioni del moto di protesta, assicurando l'interessamento personale del «Comandante» per il ritorno di Giuliani e in merito alla "presenza e propaganda italofoba dei preti croati". Come riporta il giornale, la chiave della chiesa venne consegnata al Comando, che, a detta del suddetto capitano, le avrebbe restituite soltanto a un sacerdote italiano[25]. L'articolo si conclude affermando la sintonia tra il gruppo di protesta e d'Annunzio: "Soddisfatte, le donne si allontanarono da palazzo acclamando al «Comandante»".

Per ben due mesi le chiavi rimasero in mano alle autorità dannunziane, precludendo in questo modo lo svolgimento della liturgia cattolica nella principale chiesa cittadina. Le chiavi, in effetti, vennero restituite solo dopo che in città venne inviato un sacerdote italiano, come Coselschi aveva auspicato. L'amministratore apostolico Celso Costantini, nominato dalla Santa Sede il 30 aprile 1920, le ottenne dal sindaco Riccardo Gigante, riaprì la chiesa il 16 maggio e fece celebrare messa a Kukanić, ristabilendo il principio d'autorità del parroco[26].

Il giornale irredentista non smise con la propaganda contro il parroco croato. Pochi giorni dopo, pubblicando un'anonima lettera in difesa del sacerdote, il quotidiano la fa seguire da un commento in cui si accusa il parroco di condurre una politica croata e di avere contegno nei riguardi delle autorità cittadine[27].

L'episodio appena illustrato della chiusura della chiesa con relativa sospensione del culto cattolico è ancora sconosciuto alla storiografia italiana in quanto ancor oggi, su vari temi del Novecento legati al confine orientale, non si prendono abbastanza in considerazione le storiografie croata e slovena. Sovente si esprimono giudizi storio-

24 Misure odiose contro un degno sacerdote italiano. Una dimostrazione di popolo indignato. La folla chiude il Duomo e ne porta le chiavi al Comando! Don Kukanic in un 'record' di fegatosità italofoba (La Vedetta d'Italia, 24.03.1920, 2).

25 "Ricevendole in consegna, il capitano Coselschi assicurò le donne che il «Comandante» aveva voluto personalmente interessarsi della questione di padre Giuliani, così fervidamente prodigatosi a favore della causa italiana, e che si era già occupato in merito alla presenza e propaganda italofoba dei preti croati, come pure per l'immediata revoca del padre Giuliani al suo posto: e che pertanto le chiavi rimanevano in custodia al Comando sino al completo trionfo del nostro buon diritto, per venire ridate soltanto a un sacerdote italiano" (La Vedetta d'Italia, 24.03.1920, 2).

26 Costantini così racconta l'apertura della chiesa parrocchiale, primo passo effettuato una volta arrivato a Fiume: "Quando alle ore otto, feci girare la pesante chiave della serratura della porta, la mano mi tremava di commozione. Quello mi pareva un atto pieno di buon auspicio. Poche donne assistevano attonite. Poi la voce dell'apertura del Duomo si diffuse rapidamente e la chiesa si riempì di popolo; e io celebrai la messa" (Costantini, 1948, 350–351).

27 "Nessuno rinfaccia al parroco di esser nato in Croazia (è una disgrazia che può capitare a qualunque) e ancora al parroco nessuno domanda che faccia politica italiana: ma che non faccia politica croata! (…) Che dire poi dell' 'aria malsana in ciò che riguarda morale e religione' e dei superiori che richiamando padre Giuliani vogliono così salvarlo da qualsiasi pericolo? Ma se a Fiume regna una così desolante immoralità, i 'superiori dovevano inviarci almeno dodici cappellani del valore di don Giuliani, per opporsi e curare quest'aria malsana e pericolosa." Don Kukanic trova un difensore… anonimo (La Vedetta d'Italia, 28.3.1920, 2).

grafici su questi temi senza consultare tutta la bibliografia e le fonti disponibili[28]. In quest‘ottica va inquadrato anche lo sforzo, in atto ultimamente in Italia, di rappresentare d‘Annunzio come precursore dello stato laico e della libertà di culto (Margiotta Broglio, 2020). Tale giudizio è in stridente contrasto con quella che fu la prassi durante l‘occupazione dannunziana non solo a Fiume, ma anche durante l‘episodio del Natale 1920 a Baška, quando le truppe del Poeta impedirono lo svolgimento della liturgia paleoslava nella locale chiesa parrocchiale uccidendo diversi fedeli e costringendo il sacerdote (e futuro vescovo) Klement Kvirin Bonefačić all‘esilio.

MANIPOLAZIONI IDEOLOGICHE

Dopo l‘annessione di Fiume all‘Italia (1924) e la conciliazione tra Chiesa e Stato (1929), l‘episodio della benedizione del pugnale e la conseguente contrapposizione tra Chiesa e d‘Annunzio caddero volutamente nell‘oblio. A più di vent‘anni di distanza, nel quotidiano *La Vedetta d‘Italia* il sindaco di Fiume Riccardo Gigante pubblicò un articolo sulla chiesa di S. Vito in cui, tra l‘altro, evocava il ricordo presso i fiumani della benedizione del pugnale, che attribuisce erroneamente a Costantini[29].

Anche durante il comunismo il ricordo di questo episodio fu stravolto e strumentalizzato. Nel 1954, momento in cui la crisi diplomatica tra Jugoslavia e Italia sull‘appartenenza di Trieste toccava l‘apice, lo storico Viktor Novak, sulla scia di una forte propaganda antiitaliana (antiromana ed anticattolica) in Jugoslavia, nella rivista diplomatica *Međunarodna politika* accusava Costantini per la benedizione del pugnale, e la gerarchia cattolica in generale per esserne stata complice (Novak, 1954, 21).

Le cose, come abbiamo visto, andarono diversamente. La vicenda della consacrazione dell‘arma avvenne prima che Costantini fosse nominato amministratore apostolico. Liva terminò la sua missione proprio in conseguenza della sua ferma opposizione all’abuso della religione, e ciò provocò la reazione dei circoli politici italiani di Fiume insofferenti per il ritiro del cappellano nazionalista Giuliani.

GIULIANI EROE FASCISTA

Alcuni cappellani presenti a Fiume come Michelangelo Rubino e Vittorio Centa raggiunsero una considerevole notorietà nel Ventennio (Scottà, 1994, 308–309). È indubbio però che Reginaldo Giuliani sia stato il più noto dei cappellani militari del dopoguerra. L‘episodio fiumano fu il suo primo momento di notorietà. Nello stesso anno, il 1919, pubblicò un libro sui reparti d‘assalto che gli valse il titolo di “primo storico degli arditi“ (Morozzo della Rocca, 2015, 98). Dopo Fiume, fino alla stipu-

28 Dati erronei sulla chiusura del Duomo sono riportati anche in opere di recente pubblicazione in quanto ancor oggi si esprimono giudizi storiografici senza previa consultazione di fonti e bibliografia in lingue croata e slovena. (Pupo, 2019, 103; Gabrieli, 2017–2018). Erronei inoltre i dati relativi alla lingua liturgica e la lingua di predicazione a Fiume dopo il 1918, per i quali si rimanda a Medved, 2013, 935–937.

29 San Vito, la più bella chiesa di Fiume (La Vedetta d’Italia, 17.12.1944, 2).

lazione dei Patti lateranensi del 1929, Giuliani sosteneva che la sua missione – per dirla con un confratello che lo commemorò in una serie di conferenze – l‘“essere una specie di anello di congiunzione tra il combattentismo, l‘arditismo, il fascismo e il cattolicismo“ (Morozzo della Rocca, 2015, 99). Nella prima metà degli anni Trenta si prodigò nell‘associativismo, si recò a lungo nelle Americhe e raggiunse grande fama con la campagna d‘Etiopia. Convinto fascista, si arruolò a 48 anni come cappellano centurione nel battaglione di Camicie nere XXVIII Ottobre. Il suo attaccamento al regime è espresso dal suo diario d›Africa, pubblicato postumo col titolo *Per Cristo e per la Patria*. Morì in combattimento il 21 gennaio 1936 a Passo Urieu entrando così nell‘alveo dei martiri fascisti. Il fascismo ne commemorò la morte celebrandone le virtù patriottiche, apologia a cui aderirono diversi ecclesiastici, oratori e stampa cattolica di vario spessore[30]. Giuliani divenne, insomma, un eroe del regime, il cui mito venne esaltato anche nell‘arte (Cavagnini, 2008, 976–992; Ceci, 2010, 126–128).

CONCLUSIONE

Durante l‘occupazione della città di Fiume, d‘Annunzio cercò di sacralizzare la politica mediante un vero e proprio culto laico. Tali celebrazioni erano contraddistinte da una coreografia in cui il sacerdote era d‘Annunzio e la Patria assurgeva a divinità. Nei decenni a seguire, a questo modello inaugurato a Fiume s‘ispirerà il fascismo per comunicare con le masse. La benedizione del pugnale nella chiesa di S. Vito può considerarsi un perfetto prototipo di liturgia acristiana officiata dal leader. L‘episodio fiumano qui analizzato appare ancora più scandaloso essendosi svolto all‘interno della chiesa di S. Vito, oggi cattedrale, ed avendo mischiato cioè i due spazi fisici – sacro e profano – strumentalizzando il primo ai fini del secondo[31]. La liturgia fiumana era contraddistinta da una carica di istigazione alla violenza mai registrata nella chiesa del patrono di Fiume, che conserva il Miracoloso crocefisso, oggetto di devozione sin dall‘epoca medievale, e in cui prestavano giuramento i capitani della città. Lo scandalo era assicurato e le conseguenze per padre Giuliani – lui sì vero sacerdote – furono inevitabili. Giuliani fu probabilmente il più celebre tra i cappellani militari che sin dall‘impresa di Fiume abbracciarono pienamente la causa prima nazionalista e combattentista, poi fascista e imperiale, divenendo dei simboli religioso-patriottici (Morozzo della Rocca, 2015, 98).

30 “Volontario in età matura in Africa Orientale come cappellano delle camicie nere, venne ucciso degli abissini: la sua morte – provocata da ‘un colpo di scimitarra da barbara mano vibrata’, recita la motivazione della medaglia d’oro concessa alla memoria – fu celebrata dalla stampa dell’epoca come quella di un martire della civiltà cristiana e fascista insieme“. (Morozzo della Rocca, 2015, 99).

31 Scrive a proposito Ledeen: “Se la penetrazione degli ideali dannunziani nella sfera religiosa ebbe un notevole significato, l’adattamento di simboli religiosi alla retorica della rivoluzione fiumana aveva un’importanza di gran lunga maggiore, e il comandante seppe realizzare una fusione potente di elementi sacri e profani nella predisposizione delle feste pubbliche per il nuovo anno. Un esempio plateale dell’impressione di potenza che egli seppe suscitare si può trovare nella celebrazione del giorno di san Sebastiano, il 20 gennaio“ (Ledeen, 1975, 202–203).

Di fronte al suo ritiro, deciso dalla Santa Sede, i circoli dannunziani reagirono incolpando il parroco croato Kukanić, al quale chiusero la chiesa precludendogli la celebrazione per quasi due mesi. Tale prassi è in stridente contrasto con alcuni giudizi storiografici in Italia che dipingono d‘Annunzio come precursore della laicità dello Stato, ignorando che il suo regime soffocò la libertà di culto a Fiume e a Baška. Tale episodio si riverberò sull‘ambiente plurinazionale di Fiume in modo deleterio, avendo scatenato la supremazia di una nazionalità sull‘altra anche in ambiente ecclesiastico e intaccando delicati equilibri nazionali e linguistici. Nel corso del Novecento, altri e ancor più tragici episodi sconvolgeranno il tessuto multiculturale della *Terra di San Vito*.

ZLORABA VERE V POLITIČNI LITURGIJI NA DANNUNZIJEVSKI REKI: BLAGOSLOV BODALA V CERKVI SV. VIDA

Marko MEDVED
Medicinska fakulteta, Univerza v Reki
Ul. Braće Branchetta 20, 51000 Rijeka, Hrvaška
e-mail: marko.medved.rijeka@gmail.com

POVZETEK

Avtor na podlagi dosedaj neuporabljenega arhivskega gradiva in lokalnega tiska predstavlja okoliščine, ki so vplivale na življenje Cerkve v mestu Reka v času d'Annunzijeve okupacije (1919–1920). Blagoslov bodala, ki ga je opravil kaplan Reginaldo Giuliani v cerkvi Sv. Vida, je bil vzrok za odločitev Svetega sedeža, da ga umakne iz Reke. Italijanski nacionalistični krogi v Reki so se na Giulianijev umik odzvali tako, da so po krivici obdolžili hrvaškega duhovnika, reškega župnika, in za skoraj dva meseca zaprli cerkev ter onemogočili opravljanje bogoslužij. Tako je bila, v nasprotju s tistimi, ki danes trdijo, da je d'Annunzijeva politika anticipirala sodobne principe sekularne države, v času d'Annunzijeve okupacije dejansko onemogočena verska svoboda. Dejstvo, da je d'Annunzio ustvaril posebno politično liturgijo in da je v njeno središče postavil nacionalizem, je imelo negativne posledice za takratno večnacionalno katoliško skupnost v Reki. To dejstvo ni znano italijanskim avtorjem, še posebno tistim, ki proučujejo zgodovinska vprašanja povezana z Istro in Reko, a ne obvladajo hrvaškega ali slovenskega jezika.

Ključne besede: Reka, Valentino Liva, Gabriele d'Annunzio, Reginaldo Giuliani, Sveti sedež

FONTI E BIBLIOGRAFIA

ACCC-VL – Archivio Capitolo Collegiale, Cividale del Friuli, fondo Valentino Liva, fasc. Delegato apostolico a Fiume. Corrispondenza in relazione all'ufficio di Delegato apostolico di Fiume compresi altresì gli appunti privati e le minute delle lettere, dal maggio 1919 al maggio 1920.

Agrì, Alessandro (2014): D'Annunzio politico: La Carta del Carnaro. Atti e memorie. Memorie scientifiche, giuridiche, letterarie, letterarie, XVII, 1, 161–188.

Bogović, Mile (1997): Crkvena povijest Rijeke od 1889.–1924. In: Deković, Darko (ed.): Bernardin Nikola Škrivanić i njegovo vrijeme. Rijeka, Matica Hrvatska Ogranak Rijeka, 17–42.

Cavagnini, Giovanni (2008): Le prime prove di un mito fascista. Padre Reginaldo Giuliani nella Grande Guerra. Humanitas, LXIII, 6, 976–992.

Ceci, Lucia (2010): Il papa non deve parlare. Chiesa, fascismo e guerra d'Etiopia. Bari, Laterza.

Costantini, Celso (1948): Foglie secche. Esperienze e memorie di un vecchio prete. Roma, Tip. Artistica.

Dalma, Giovanni (1980): Svjedočanstvo o Rijeci i Riccardu Zanelli. Dometi, 13, 3–5, 37–50.

Franzinelli, Mimmo (1995): Stellette, croce e fascio littorio. L'assistenza religiosa a militari, balilla e camicie nere (1919–1939). Milano, Franco Angeli.

Gabrieli, Christian (2017–2018): La nomina di mons. Celso Costantini come amministratore apostolico a Fiume (1920), prima parte. Fiume – rivista di studi adriatici, 35, 19–48; 37, 31–58.

Gerra, Ferdinando (1974): L'impresa di Fiume. Milano, Longanesi.

Il Piccolo. Trieste, GEDI Gruppo Editoriale, 1881– .

La Vedetta d'Italia. Fiume, Stabilimento tipografico La Vedetta d'Italia, 1919–1945.

Ledeen, Michael (1975): D'Annunzio a Fiume. Roma – Bari, Laterza.

Margiotta Broglio, Francesco (2020): D'Annunzio, il Vate laico. Nuova Rivista storica. http://www.nuovarivistastorica.it/?p=10207 (last access: 2020-09-07).

Medved, Marko (2012): Katolička crkva i D'Annunzijeva okupacija Rijeke. Časopis za suvremenu povijest, 44, 1, 111–136.

Medved, Marko (2013): La gerarchia cattolica italiana e la questione linguistica in diocesi plurinazionali: il caso della Chiesa di Rijeka (Fiume) durante il fascismo. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 108, 3–4, 931–953.

Medved, Marko (2015): Riječka Crkva u razdoblju fašizma. Nastanak biskupije i prvi talijanski upravitelji. Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost – Riječka nadbiskupija – Državni arhiv u Pazinu.

Monticone, Alberto (2015): Prefazione. In: Morozzo della Rocca, Roberto (ed.): La fede e la guerra. Udine, Gaspari, 10–11.

Morozzo della Rocca, Roberto (2015): La fede e la guerra. Udine, Gaspari.

NAR-PC – Nadbiskupijski arhiv, Rijeka (Archivio arcivescovile Fiume), Presidiale Costantini, fasc. Erezione parrocchie, materiale preparatorio 1920–1923.

Novak, Viktor (1954): Biskupska kurija u Trstu. Kula antislovenskih akcija iredentizma i fašizma. Međunarodna politika, V, 92, 37–39; 93, 20–22.

Pupo, Raoul (2018): Fiume città di passione. Bari-Roma, Laterza.

Schematismus – Schematismus Cleri Diocesium Segniensis et Modrušiensis seu Corbaviensis pro anno 1916. Segniae, Typis T. Devčić & socii.

Scottà, Antonio (1994): I territori del confine orientale italiano nelle lettere dei vescovi alla Santa Sede 1918–1922. Trieste, Lint.

Spackman, Barbara (1996): Fascist Virilities: Rethoric, Ideology, and Social Fantasy in Italy. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Valente, Massimiliano (2014): La Santa Sede e la questione di Fiume nel dopoguerra. In: Jakir, Aleksandar & Marko Trogrlić (eds): Klerus und Nation in Südosteuropa vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang Edition, 71–98.

Received: 2021-04-05 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.20

HISTORIOGRAPHIC ISSUES REGARDING THE POSITION OF THE ORTHODOX AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN SOVIET UKRAINE IN THE YEARS 1920–1930

Larysa POLIAKOVA
Bogdan Khmelnitsky Melitopol State Pedagogical University, Melitopol, Ukraine 72312 Getmanska str. 20
e-mail: klioist@ukr.net

Natalia SHKODA
Bogdan Khmelnitsky Melitopol State Pedagogical University, Melitopol, Ukraine 72312 Getmanska str. 20
e-mail: igor.schckoda@yandex.ua

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to identify the features of the researchers' approach to the study of the history of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy in the 1920s and 1930s in Soviet Ukraine. Methodological tools of the research cover a set of basic research methods: historiographical analysis, synthesis, typology of scientific areas, comparative analysis and more. The novelty of the study is that from a new point of view highlights the importance of Christian denominations in the modern socio-political process, clarifies the social status of Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy in Ukraine in 1920-30's. On the basis of the historiographical analysis of the available literature on this problem, it can be stated that this issue from the 1920s to the present day has been more or less analyzed by historians. There are some achievements in the study of this issue. In modern historiography, the study of the history of Christian denominations is one of the priority scientific areas. Despite the politicization of the works of Soviet authors of the second half of the 20th century, they thoroughly analyzed the development of Orthodoxy and Catholicism in the Russian Empire and on the territory of the USSR, studied the relations of these churches with the tsarist government, and later with the Soviet authorities. However, there are still a number of issues that need to be improved. The perspective of further developments can be the study of church bibliography, ethno-confessional composition of churches, inter-confessional relations, regional studies, documentary studies.

Keywords: clergy, religion, Ukraine, spiritual values, Christian denominations

PROBLEMI STORIOGRAFICI RELATIVI ALLE POSIZIONI DELLA CHIESA ORTODOSSA E QUELLA CATTOLICA ROMANA NELL'UCRAINA SOVIETICA NEGLI ANNI 1920–1930

SINTESI

L'obiettivo dell'articolo è identificare le caratteristiche negli approcci dei ricercatori allo studio della storia del clero ortodosso e cattolico romano nell'Ucraina sovietica negli anni Venti e Trenta. Gli strumenti metodologici della ricerca coprono un insieme di metodi di ricerca di base: analisi storiografica, sintesi, tipologia delle aree scientifiche, analisi comparativa e altro. La novità dello studio è che da un nuovo punto di vista mette in evidenza l'importanza delle denominazioni cristiane nel moderno processo socio-politico e chiarisce lo status sociale del clero ortodosso e cattolico romano in Ucraina nel periodo 1920–1930. Sulla base dell'analisi storiografica della letteratura disponibile sulla questione, si può affermare che questo tema dagli anni Venti ad oggi è stato più o meno analizzato dagli storici. Possiamo notare alcuni progressi nello studio di questo problema. Nella storiografia contemporanea, lo studio della storia delle confessioni cristiane è una delle aree scientifiche prioritarie. Nonostante la politicizzazione nelle opere degli autori sovietici della seconda metà del XX secolo, venne analizzato a fondo lo sviluppo dell'ortodossia e del cattolicesimo nell'Impero russo e sul territorio dell'Unione Sovietica, come pure venivano studiate le relazioni di queste chiese con il governo zarista, e poi con le autorità sovietiche. Tuttavia, ci sono ancora una serie di questioni che devono essere approfondite. In prospettiva gli ulteriori sviluppi potrebbero essere lo studio della bibliografia ecclesiastica, la composizione etno-confessionale delle chiese, le relazioni interconfessionali, gli studi regionali e gli studi documentari.

Parole chiave: clero, religione, Ucraina, valori spirituali, confessioni cristiane

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the religious factor in the modern life of Ukraine determines the increased interest of researchers in religious studies. The influence of the church and the clergy on society attracts the constant attention of historians. Domestic scholars are rethinking the role of Christian denominations in national history.

The church history of the first post-revolutionary decades, which is similar to modern religious life in terms of richness and dynamism, attracts special attention. The importance of Christian denominations in the modern socio-political process reinforces the need to clarify the social status of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy in Ukraine in the 1920–1930s. That was the period of the establishment of a new political system and the transformation of traditional spiritual values.

The study of the situation of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches is socially important. The current religious situation in the country brings to the fore the problem of eliminating conflicts between adherents of different denominations. The nature of many contradictions should be sought in the actions of the Christian clergy in the 1920s-1930s.

Given these trends, the historiographical work of scholars who analyze various aspects of the situation of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy in the 20's and 30's of the XX century becomes relevant. on the territory of Soviet Ukraine.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this article is to identify the features of the approach of researchers to the study of the history of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy on the territory of Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s–1930s. Orthodoxy and Catholicism were the most numerous Christian denominations in Soviet Ukraine during this period.

Literature on this issue, in which to some extent the authors reveal the history of Orthodox denominations and the Roman Catholic Church, can be divided according to the problem-chronological principle into 2 blocks:

1) research of the Soviet period (1920s-1980s);

2) post-Soviet historiography (1990s – the beginning of the XXI century).

Soviet historiography can also be divided into periods. The first stage of Soviet historiography on the problem dates back to the 1920s–1930s. The Soviet government viewed religion as a political rival in the struggle for influence on the human worldview, which logically determined the atheistic orientation of Soviet historiography. The authors of these works were party and state leaders – P. Krasikov (Krasikov, 1970), B. Kandidov (Kandidov, 1930) and others. At this time, some generalizing works appeared, which became an effective means of the government's struggle against religion. One of them is the work of E. Grekulov (Grekulov, 1930).

Authorities emphasized the exploitative role of the church. Therefore, the religious intelligence of that time was openly ideological, politicized, and its authors ignored the objective, scientific analysis of the factual material. The main task of these publications was to affirm the reactionary nature of the church and the clergy.

Despite the rather biased approach to ecclesiastical issues of Soviet intelligence, the research of individual historians of the Marxist school is important for the disclosure of the topic. The authors of some publications characterized important aspects of this problem – the organizational state of Christian denominations, the change of the line of party-state power in relation to them.

The leading topic of historiographical research in the 1920s–1930s on the church was the struggle against the church counterrevolution. Scholars, as true political agitators, analyzed the struggle of the workers, peasants, women, youth, and trade unions against the church's counterrevolutionary activities.

One of the first attempts in Soviet historiography to shed light on the past of religious denominations from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism was the work of Professor M. Nikolsky "History of the Russian Church" (Nikolsky, 1985, 123), first published in 1931 and republished in 1985. According to the scientist, the state church is "organization of operation" (Nikolsky, 1985, 123). Despite the negative assessment of the religious life of communities, this study is based on a sufficiently representative source base, which is an indisputable advantage of this work.

Thus, the characteristic features of the research of this period – ideology and bias, which made it impossible to develop a problem in the general context of civilization. The accumulation of a rich factual base of the study was positive.

The second stage of Soviet historiography conditionally falls on the 1950s–1980s. Religious intelligence of this period was still based on atheistic doctrine, based on the anti-church policy of the state. It was in the late 1950s that a new anti-religious campaign began, which restored the attention of official historiography to the problems of church history. The main topics remained the state policy towards the church, the history of the mass atheist movement.

Most scholars have unilaterally covered events related to the social position of the clergy. In the works of D. Ostryanin (Ostryanin, 1965), V. Kolobkov (Kolobkov, 1962) the clergy was equated with class enemies, the activity of the clergy was regarded as a counter-revolutionary subversive work against the socialist state. The authors focused on the joint anti-Soviet actions of the clergy and wealthy peasants.

Scholars of this period considered the question of church history mostly in the plane of materialist philosophy. For example, the researcher W. Tancher claimed that the leadership of the Orthodox Church and the vast majority of parish clergy actively supported the counter-revolutionary forces (Tancher, 1979).

At this time, the first special scientific studies on the history of the Roman Catholic Church appeared, among which a special place is occupied by the works of M. Sheinman. M. Sheinman's work «The Vatican and Catholicism in the late XIX – early XX centuries» attracts attention (Sheinman, 1958). Despite the political and ideological color, this work highlights the general picture of the formation of the Catholic faith, the history of the papacy and the Vatican, describes the organizational structure of the church.

Some authors, considering other scientific problems, briefly touched on some aspects of church history in some regions of Ukraine. For example, in the late 1950s, the Soviet researcher E. Druzhinina, studying the process of settlement of Southern Ukraine (Druzhinina, 1959), fragmentarily considered the participation of Catholics. This study is important for reproducing the general historical background on which the development of the Roman Catholic Church in southern Ukraine took place.



Fig.1: Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi (Wikimedia Commons).

During the 1960s–1980s, criticism of religion gradually became more balanced: a wealth of factual material on the history of the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church was accumulated. The works of this period are characterized by a certain general orientation and similar stereotypes of assessments. The works of this group include the work of M. Mchedlov «Catholicism» (Mchedlov, 1970).

Thus, despite the politicization of the works of Soviet authors of the second half of the 20 century, they thoroughly analyzed the development of Orthodoxy and Catholicism in the Russian Empire and the USSR, studied the relationship of these churches with the tsarist government and later the Soviet government. These works require critical analysis.

A significant contribution to the study of the history of the Roman Catholic Church was made by the Catholic priest, Bishop of the Diocese of Tiraspol J.A. Kessler (Kessler, 1930). In his History of the Diocese of Tiraspol, he examined in detail the position of the Roman Catholic Church in the Russian Empire and the USSR. J. Kessler was one of the first to refute the thesis of the purely Polish character of the RCC, paid much



Fig. 2: Kherson bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church Prokopiy Titov (Drevo, 2005).

attention to the organizational structure and socio-political activities of the Tiraspol diocese, clarified the sources and causes of national contradictions in the diocese. So he claimed the destructive influence of the Roman Catholic Church. However, despite the rich factual material, the work of J.A. Kessler requires a critical attitude. The author subjectively and emotionally characterizes the activities of the Roman Catholic Church, exaggerating its role in the religious life of the USSR.

Of particular interest for elucidating the peculiarities of the development of religious life in Ukraine in the 1920's and 1930's will be the study of I. Vlasovsky, a prominent Ukrainian church and political figure who worked in exile, «An Essay on the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church» (Vlasovsky, 1998). It is important that the author highlights the features of the spiritual life in some regions of Ukraine in this period. Researching the history of the UOC in Volyn, I. Vlasovsky draws parallels with Roman Catholicism. He provides statistics on the number of religious communities, the number of clergy and RCC believers in the region, compares the peculiarities of the situation of churches, analyzes their driving forces.

During the Soviet period, works of a generalizing nature predominated, but periodically, investigations on the history of individual Christian denominations were published. For example, the work of K. Dmytruk, dedicated to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Dmitruk, 1977), O. Shishkin – to the renewal movement (Shishkin, 1970). K. Dmytruk in the spirit of militant atheism evaluated the activities of the autocephalous clergy. The author ignored the problem of large-scale repressions against the entire hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and limited himself to reporting individual arrests of bishops and priests (Dmitruk, 1977).

F. Turchenko's historical works are more informative and objective about the researched problem. For example, the article «Ukrainian Autocephalous», co-authored with O. Ignatusha (Turchenko & Ignatusha, 1989).

RESULTS

Thus, in the works of 1950–1980, the question of the relationship between the clergy and the authorities dominated. The conceptual basis of all the works was the thesis of the joint counter-revolutionary work of priests and wealthy peasants. Prejudiced for ideological reasons, the influence of the clergy on public opinion was greatly diminished.

The proclamation of Ukraine's independence and the democratization of public life intensified research into the history of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. The opening of the State political administration (DPU) archives and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) funds provided an opportunity for scientists of the new period to correct the mistakes of Soviet historians, to try to comprehensively analyze the situation of the church in the 1920s-1930s. V. Pashchenko (Pashchenko, 1994), A. Zinchenko (Zinchenko, 1993; Zinchenko, 1997), L. Pylyavets (Pilyavets, 1992), and O. Nestulya (Nestulya, 1995) were among the first of the new methodological positions to try to rethink the essence of church-state relations, the role of Christian denominations in society in the period under study. For example, researcher A. Zinchenko, covering the national movement in the church environment, identified the important role of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in raising the national identity of believers. Considering the processes of development of the autocephalous movement, the researcher pointed to the Russification of the episcopate and the presence in the ranks of even the autocephalous clergy of priests with a low level of national identity. The scientist highlighted the vivid and tragic life of Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi based on a thorough source base. Showed the determining role of the First Hierarch in the organization and activities of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Zinchenko, 1997).

One of the key issues in church history was the problem of the government's organization of political terror against the clergy. S. Bilokin described the mass arrests of the ROC clergy in 1923 in the Kyiv region. In the refer-

ences to the article «Defeat of the Kyiv Diocesan Administration in 1923» the author posted informative biographical data on prominent members of the clergy (Bilokin, 1999).

The involvement of special services in the repressions against the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy in the 1920s in Soviet Ukraine was substantiated by the scientist V. Chentsov (Chentsov, 2000). Researcher L. Babenko continued to study the directions and methods of the secret services in relation to the clergy (Babenko, 2005).

Valuable in the study of this problem is «Martyrology of the Orthodox clergy of the former USSR (1918–1954)» (Bachynska & Bachynsky, 2001). The content of this publication consists of information about 351 persons murdered during the Soviet era by priests collected by Lviv researchers K. Bachynska and M. Bachynsky on the basis of published materials and documents from the Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine. This martyrology mitigates the lack of information about the priest's affiliation to the denomination and information about the place of residence.

In the post-Soviet era, historians have paid considerable attention to regional aspects of the development of Christian denominations. Researcher A. Zinchenko. At the present stage he began to study the situation of the Orthodox Church in the 1920s–1930s in Podillya. The scientist showed the process of formation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and its activities in the region during the 1920s in the conditions of pressure from the authorities and the negative attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church (Zinchenko, 1993).

Scientist V. Pashchenko in the collection «State and Church in Poltava region during the Soviet era» explored various aspects of church life in the Poltava region in 1920s-1930s (Pashchenko, 2002). In particular, V. Pashchenko showed the implementation of a wide and systematic terror against the clergy in the region, pointed out the far-fetched and baseless accusations of the clergy in counter-revolutionary activities.

The merit of the above-mentioned scientist A. Zinchenko is a successful attempt to understand the role of the individual in the context of national-church movements. The author devoted the monograph «Hierarchs of the Ukrainian Church: Metropolitan Mykola Boretsky, Archbishop Konstantin Krotevych, Metropolitan Ivan Pavlovsky» to this problem (Zinchenko, 2003). The author focuses on the life of the public figure, spiritual preacher of the the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church – Mykola Boretsky (Zinchenko, 2003). A separate section of A. Zinchenko's monograph was devoted to another rather controversial figure of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Archbishop Konstantin Krotevych. The scientist studied the life of Ivan Pavlovsky – Metropolitan of Kharkiv and All Ukraine. The author identified his contribution to the development of Ukrainization of parishes in Cherkasy, Chernihiv and Slobozhanshchyna during the 1920s (Zinchenko, 2003).

The attention of scholars was drawn to the life and work of hierarchs and other Orthodox churches. For example, O. Trygub drew attention to the life of the Kherson bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church Prokopiy Titov (Trigub, 2004).

It should be noted that scholars were interested in the life of some senior church hierarchs. There are no biographies of typical representatives of the parish clergy.

Some scholars have tried to objectively investigate the situation of the regular clergy. For example, V. Pashchenko (Pashchenko, 2002) and O. Nestulya (Nestulya, 1995), studying church-state relations in the context of the analysis of the system of protection of religious monuments, paid attention to the policy of closing monasteries.

Most scholars were primarily interested in the problem of liquidation of monasteries. The question of the fate of monasticism after the closure of monasteries, the place of the regular clergy in the hierarchy of Ukrainian churches and in society was not clarified.

Scholars O. Ignatusha (Ignatusha, 2001), O. Trygub (Trigub, 2004) focused on the study of certain currents of Orthodoxy in southern Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s.

New approaches have emerged in the most recent domestic historiography and in the coverage of the history of Roman Catholicism in the Ukrainian lands. We note, first of all, the works of L. Gentosh (Gentosh, 1994) and others, in which the main attention is paid to state-church relations. Interest in the problem contributed to the formation of a circle of scientists specializing in the issue,

A significant contribution to the study of the history of Roman Catholics in the USSR was made by the domestic researcher of Polish origin G. Stronsky (Stronsky, 1994). It highlights the role and place of the Roman Catholic Church in the life of Poles in Soviet Ukraine. Thus, in the publication «The Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine in the 1920s–1930s.» The author examines the tragic fate of the clergy and flock of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine during the Soviet totalitarianism of the 1920s–1930s, analyzes the stages of the state religious policy towards the Roman Catholic Church of this period, and investigates the methods of Soviet power struggle against the church.

Studies of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine at the present stage reach a qualitatively new level – in research institutions there are special units. Thus, the study of the history of Roman Catholicism in Ukraine is one of the areas of research work of the Center for Church Problems and Ethno-Confessional Studies at Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

One of the important areas of research work of the Department of Religious Studies of the Institute of Philosophy. G.S. Frying pans of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine is the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine, the problem of ethno- and state-confessional relations. At the initiative of the Institute’s staff in Ukraine, an international scientific-practical conference «Ukraine and the Vatican» is held periodically.

Diligent work on the history of ethnic Germans in southern Ukraine (many of whom were Roman Catholics) is carried out by researchers at the Institute of Ukrainian-German Studies at Dnipropetrovsk National University. O. Gonchar. Scientists of the institute, in particular O. Beznosov, L. Bobylova, carried out a number of studies, which covered issues related to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine (Beznosov, 2011; Beznosov, 2012; Bobyleva, 1999).

The collective works of domestic scholars, in particular the ten-volume encyclopedic study «History of Religions in Ukraine», became an important achievement of Ukrainian historiography in studying the historical progress of various religious denominations that functioned in our country. The team of authors traces the historical path of Orthodoxy and the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine (Catholicism, 2001).

A certain contribution to understanding the problem of the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and government agencies is the work of domestic researcher E. Bystrytskaya. In the monograph «Eastern policy of the Vatican in the context of the Holy See's relations with Russia and the USSR (1878–1964)» she conducts a detailed analysis of the system of Soviet-Vatican relations the 1920s–1930s (Bystritskaya, 2009). E. Bystrytskay's monograph covers not only the legal position of the Roman Catholic Church in this period, but also traces the dependence of the church on changes in the vectors of domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet government. During the 1920s–1930s, the researcher singled out two stages of Soviet-Vatican relations with their inherent characteristic differences, namely: 1921–1929 – a period aimed at the de jure recognition of the USSR as the Apostolic See; 1929–1939 – a period of ideological confrontation, as a result of which the Roman Catholic Church virtually ceased its activities in the USSR. According to the author, Catholicism in general was perceived by the Soviet authorities not only as a bearer of a religious idea, but also as a representative of the Western system of values, which logically affected its fate in the USSR.

A number of researches by N. Rubleva are an important achievement in the study of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine. Of interest is her work «Soviet Government's Policy on the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine» (Rublyova, 1999). The researcher formulates a set of important conclusions – it was with the establishment of the communist regime in Ukraine that the position of the Roman Catholic Church underwent radical changes; the church desperately tried to adapt to qualitatively new adverse social circumstances; The Roman Catholic Church tried to restore its own structure and hierarchy in Ukraine in the form of apostolic administrations, to create illegal seminaries.

G. Nadtoka's scientific publications attract attention (Nadtoka, 1998). In them, the author describes the measures of the Russian autocracy to curb the social and economic freedom of the Roman Catholic Church; submits separate statistical data on the number of religious buildings of the Roman Catholic

Church in Ukraine, their quantitative changes; analyzes the organizational state of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine.

Domestic researchers are interested in the formation of ethno-confessional diasporas (German, Polish, Czech, Armenian and others) and ethno-confessional relations in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. This group of researchers includes I. Baluba (Baluba, 1999), J. Boyko (Boyko, 2007), O. Kalakura (Kalakura, 2007; Kalakura, 1997), I. Lisevych (Lisevich, 1997), O. Rublev (Rublev & Reprintsev, 1995) and others. In particular, I. Lisevych covers in detail and analyzes the official cultural and educational policy of the government towards the Polish community, considers the activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the field of creating Polish schools, cultural centers of Ukraine (Lisevich, 1997).

O. Kalakura in his monograph "Poles in ethnopolitical processes in the lands of Ukraine in the XX century" considers the role of the Roman Catholic Church in the history of the Polish community and the dependence of religious life of Poles on public policy. The author emphasizes that the Roman Catholic Church played not only a spiritual but also a political role in the life of the Polish minority, acted as a center for preserving the national identity of Poles, their consolidation (Kalakura, 2007).

A notable phenomenon in the historiography of the problem was the work of V. Yevtukh and B. Chirko "Germans in Ukraine. 1920–1990", which for the first time comprehensively considered the history of the Germans of the Soviet era (Yevtukh & Chirko, 1994). Among domestic researchers, they have the upper hand in processing an array of documentary materials contained in the funds of the central archives of Ukraine, and on their basis – such a component of German history as the place of ethnicity in the plans of the political regime of Bolshevism.

The history of the Czech Roman Catholic community is partially covered in the studies of V. Naulko (Naulko, 1996), Y. Lutsky (Lutsky, 1999), G. Rudnytsky[1] (Krymska svitlytsia, 17.04.1993, 3), P. Markushevsky[2] (Chornomorski novyny, 22.06.1993, 4) and others.

One of the relatively new and promising areas of research on this issue is the issue of interfaith relations in Ukraine. Thus, one of the first studies of relations between different denominations in Ukraine was N. Bulanova's monograph "History of Christian denominations in the Ekaterinoslav region of the last quarter of the XVIII – early XX centuries" (Bulanova, 2007). The researcher notes that the church and religious life of the Roman Catholic community had a national basis. Each community was a self-sufficient world, where the native language, religion and culture were preserved as a sign of self-identification. At the same time, N. Bulanova emphasizes that these factors did not cause obstacles in relations with representatives of other faiths, primarily due to economic and trade activities.

1 Krymska svitlytsia, 17.04.1993: Rudnytsky, Grigoryi. Tavrian Czechs: Stories of the founding of Bohemian villages in the Crimea and Melitopol region, 3.
2 Black Sea news, 22.06.1993: Markushevsky, Petro. Black Sea Czechs, 4.

The article by ethno-confessional researcher K. Lyakh «Ethno-confessional composition of German colonists in the South of Ukraine» is valuable for clarifying the nature of the relationship between Catholics and believers of other Christian denominations. The researcher notes that factors of ethnic origin and religious affiliation were an important component of religious life in southern Ukraine, but did not rule out the possibility of open dialogue with representatives of other faiths (Lyah, 2003).

There were a number of works on the history of individual dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church, parishes, church system, features of religious life in different regions of Ukraine. Among them we can note the works of O. Pasechnyk (Pasechnik, 2009), N. Seiko (Seiko, 2005) and others.

A significant contribution to the modern historiography of the problem was made by the Russian researcher O. Licenberger. Thus, in the monograph «The Roman Catholic Church in Russia: History and Legal Status» the researcher conducted a detailed analysis of the historical and legal situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia in the 1920s–1930s (Liezenberger, 2001). O. Litzenberger pays special attention to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church from the totalitarian communist regime; reveals the extent of persecution and repression against believers and clergy during the Soviet era. The researcher briefly raises issues related to the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine.

CONCLUSION

Thus, on the basis of the historiographical analysis of the available literature on this problem, it can be stated that this issue has been analyzed by domestic historians to a greater or lesser extent since the 1920s and to this day. There are some achievements in the study of this issue. In modern domestic historiography, the study of the history of Christian denominations is one of the priority scientific areas. The works of modern domestic scholars undoubtedly filled significant gaps in the coverage of the history of Christian denominations, accumulated informative documentary material, but many issues of life of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy within the outlined chronological boundaries are insufficiently studied. Many aspects of the history of Christian denominations in Ukraine in the 1920s–1930s have gone unnoticed by scholars, prompting further research. The prospect of further development of this socially significant topic may be the study of church bibliography, ethno-confessional composition of churches, inter-confessional relations, regional studies, documentaries.

HISTORIOGRAFSKA VPRAŠANJA GLEDE POLOŽAJA PRAVOSLAVNE IN RIMOKATOLIŠKE CERKVE V SOVJETSKI UKRAJINI V LETIH 1920–1930

Larysa POLIAKOVA
Državna pedagoška univerza Bohdan Khmelnytsky Melitopol, Hetmanska 20, 72312 Melitopol, Ukrajina
e-mail: klioist@ukr.net

Natalia SHKODA
Državna pedagoška univerza Bohdan Khmelnytsky Melitopol, Hetmanska 20, 72312 Melitopol, Ukrajina
e-mail: igor.schckoda@yandex.ua

POVZETEK

Namen članka je ugotoviti značilnosti pristopa raziskovalcev k preučevanju zgodovine pravoslavne in rimskokatoliške duhovščine v 20. in 30. letih 20. stoletja v sovjetski Ukrajini. Pravoslavje in katolicizem sta bili v tem obdobju najštevilčnejši krščanski gibanji v sovjetski Ukrajini. Metodološka raziskovalna orodja vključujejo nabor osnovnih raziskovalnih metod: zgodovinopisna analiza, sinteza, tipologija znanstvenih področij, primerjalna analiza. Novost študije je v tem, da z novega zornega kota osvetljuje pomen krščanskih veroizpovedi v sodobnem družbenopolitičnem procesu ter pojasnjuje družbeni status pravoslavne in rimskokatoliške duhovščine v Ukrajini v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih 20. stoletja, oblikovanje novega političnega sistema in transformacijo tradicionalnih duhovnih vrednot. Na podlagi zgodovinopisne analize razpoložljive literature o tej problematiki lahko sklepamo, da so to problematiko domači zgodovinarji v večji ali manjši meri analizirali že od dvajsetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Dela znanstvenikov so nedvomno zapolnila pomembne vrzeli v zgodovini krščanskih veroizpovedi in zbrala pomembno dokumentarno gradivo. Toda številna vprašanja življenja pravoslavne in rimskokatoliške duhovščine v določenem kronološkem okviru niso bila dovolj raziskana. Najprej gre za vprašanje proučevanja cerkvene bibliografije, etnokonfesionalne sestave cerkva, medkonfesionalnih odnosov, lokalne zgodovine in dokumentarnega filma. Vse našteto odpira možnosti za nadaljnje raziskave.

Ključne besede: duhovščina, vera, Ukrajina, duhovne vrednote, krščanske veroizpovedi

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Babenko, Liudmila (2005): The Clergy as an Object of Information and Analytical Activities of Special Services in Ukraine (20–30s of the XX century). History of Religions in Ukraine. Scientific Yearbook, 1, 102–106.

Bachynska, Kateryna & Michailo Bachynsky (2001): Martyrologist of the Orthodox Clergy of the Former USSR (1918–1954). Christmas 2000, 1, 72–89.

Baluba, Igor (1999): Problems of Cultural and Educational Development of the Polish National Minority in Ukraine in the 20s–30s of the XX Century. Posvit, 23, 2, 10–12.

Beznosov, Oleksandr (2012): Famine of 1932–1933 in German and Mennonite Settlements in the South of Ukraine: Character and Consequences. In: Bobyleva, Svitlana (ed.): Nutrition of Nimetskoi History. Dnipropetrovsk, Dnepropetrovsk National University, 121–137.

Beznosov, Oleksandr (2011): Germans and Mennonites of Southern Ukraine in the Context of Soviet National Policy. In: Bobyleva, Svitlana (ed.): Questions of German history. Dnepropetrovsk, Dnepropetrovsk National University, 159–173.

Bilokin, Sergiy (1999): Defeat of the Kyiv Diocesan Administration in 1923. Kyivska starovina, 1, 90–106.

Bobyleva, Svitlana (1999): Essays on the History of Germans and Mennonites in the South of Ukraine (late 18th–first half of the 19th Century). Dnepropetrovsk, Art Press.

Boyko, Yaroslav (2007): Placement of Poles in the South of Ukraine (late 19th–early 20th centuries). Poles in the Ukrainian Socialist Republic, 1, 79–85.

Bulanova, Natalia (2007): History of Christian Denominations of Ekaterinoslav Region in the Last Quarter of the 18–early 20 Centuries. Dnepropetrovsk, IMA-press.

Bystritskaya, Ella (2009): Eastern Policy of the Vatican in the Context of the Holy See’s Relations with Russia and the USSR (1878–1964): Monograph. Ternopil, Pidruchniki i posibniki.

Catholicism (2001): History of Religion in Ukraine, 4. Kyiv, The World of Knowledge.

Chentsov, Viktor (2000): Political Repression in Soviet Ukraine. Kiev, Zbruch.

Chornomorski novyny. Odessa, 1917 –

Dmitruk, Klym (1977): Who Served and are Serving Traitors from the so-called Autocephaly. Kyiv, Znannya.

Drevo, 2005– Otkrytaya pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya. https://drevo-info.ru/articles/2565.html (last access: 2022-06-06).

Druzhinina, Olena (1959): Northern Black Sea Region in 1775–1800. Moscow, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of History.

Gazeta den, 1996– https://day.kyiv.ua/ru/article/podrobnosti/narodnyy-mitropolit (last access: 2022-06-06).

Gentosh, Liliana (1994): The Catholic Church and the Formation of Ukrainian Statehood (1917–1923). Second International Congress of Ukrainians: Reports and Announcements. History, 2, 19–22.

Grekulov, Efim (1930): How the Russian Clergy choked. Moscow, Atheist.

Ignatusha, Oleksandr (2001): Critical Review of the Development of the Synodal Church in the South of Ukraine (1920s–1930s). Archive. Document. History. Modernity. Pratsi derzhavnoho arkhivu Odeskoi oblasti, 4, 214–221.

Kalakura, Oleg (2007): Poles in Ethnopolitical Processes in the Lands of Ukraine in the XX century. Kyiv, Knowledge of Ukraine.

Kalakura, Oleg (1997): The Polish Minority in Ukraine against the Background of the Policy of Militant Atheism 20-30 years of XX century. In: Scientific Notes of the Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2. Kyiv, IPiEND, 64–70.

Kandidov, Borys (1930): Religious Counter-Revolution and Intervention 1918–1920 (Essays and materials). Moscow, Atheist.

Kessler, J.A. (1930): Geschichte der Diozese Tiraspol. N. Dakota, Dickinson.

Kolobkov, Volodymyr (1962): The Legacy of Centuries of Darkness. Kyiv, State Publishing House of Political Literature.

Krasikov, Petr (1970): Selected Atheistic Works. Moscow, Mysl.

Krymska svitlytsia. Simferopol, 1992– http://svitlytsia.crimea.ua/ks_15_93.pdf (last access: 2022-07-09).

Liezenberger, Olga (2001): The Roman Catholic Church in Russia: History and Legal Status. Saratov, Povolzhskaya Academy of Public Service.

Lisevich, Ivan (1997): Spiritually Thirsty: Spiritual Life of the Polish National Minority in Dnieper Ukraine in 1864–1917. Kyiv, Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Lutsky, Yuryi (1999): Czechs in Ukraine, 1917–1933: The Tragedy of the Owner. Chronicle-2000, 29–30, 119–138.

Lyah, Kateryna (2003): Ethno-confessional Composition of German Colonists in the South of Ukraine. Germans of the Azov and Black Sea Regions: History and Modernity. Proceedings of the international scientific conference, 1, 97–107.

Mchedlov, Michail (1970): Catholicism. Moscow, Politizdat.

Nadtoka, Genadyi (1998): Interfaith Relations in Ukraine in the early XX century. Ukrainian Historical Journal, 5, 86–99.

Naulko, Vsevolod (1996): Czechs in Ukraine. In: Vakhnina, Larysa, Mushketyk, Olesiya & Viktoria Yuzvenko (eds.). Under One Sky: Folklore of Ethnic Groups of Ukraine. Kiev, Holovna spets. red. lit-ry movamy nats. menshyn Ukrainy, 171–182.

Nestulya, Oleksyi **(1995)**: The Fate of Church Antiquity in Ukraine: 1917–1941. Kyiv, Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Nikolsky, Nickolay (1985): History of the Russian Church. Moscow, Politizdat.

Ostryanin, Dmytro (1965): Religion and its Reactionary Role. Kyiv, State Publishing House of Political Literature.

Pasechnik, Oleg (2009): Roman Catholic Church in Kamyanets-Podilsky (Khmelnitsky) region in 1920–1941. Khmelnitsky, Publisher of Private Enterprise Tsyupak A.A.

Pashchenko, Volodymyr (1994): Freedom of Conscience in Ukraine: Myths and Facts of the 20–30’s of XX Century. Kiev, Institute of History of Ukraine.

Pashchenko, Volodymyr (2002): The Policy of the Bolshevik Party on Religious Issues and its Consequences (20–30 years of 20 century). In: Shemet, Petro (ed.): State and Church in Poltava Region during the Soviet era. Poltava, Kobeliaky, 13–37.

Pilyavets, Leonid (1992): Godmother of the DPU. From the History of the Church of Christ. Human and World, 5–6. Kyiv, Presa Ukrainy, 26–29.

Rublyova, Natalia (1999): The Policy of the Soviet Government Towards the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine. Kiev, Znannya.

Rublev, **Oleksandr & Volodymyr Reprintsev (1995)**: Repressions against Poles in Ukraine in the 1930s. In: Archives of VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB, 1–2. Kyiv, Instytut istorii Ukrainy, 116–156.

Seiko, Nataliia (2005): Charitable Activities of the Catholic Community of the Right Bank in Favor of the Development of Education in the XIX Century. Museum Work in Zhytomyr Region: History, Experience, Problems. "Great Volyn": Proceedings of the Zhytomyr Scientific and Local History Society of Volyn Researchers, 33, 243–249.

Sheinman, Michail (1958): The Vatican and Catholicism in the late 19th–early 20th Centuries. Moscow, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Shishkin, Aleksandr (1970): The Essence and Critical Assessment of the "Renovationist" Split in the Russian Orthodox Church. Kazan, Kazan University Publishing House.

Stronsky, Genrich (1994): Doomed to Silence: RCC in Ukraine in the 1920–30's. Man and the World, 3–4, 17.

Tancher, Volodymyr (1979): Religious Vestiges and their Overcoming. Kiev, Politizdat.

Trigub, Aleksandr (2004): Renovation Bishops 20–30s of 20 Century in Nikolayevshchina. History. Ethnography. Culture. New Researches: 5-th Nikolaev Regional Local Lore Conference, 5, 261–263.

Turchenko, Fedir & Ignatusha, Oleksandr (1989): Ukrainian Autocephalous. In: Homeland, 12. Kyiv, Radianskyi pysmennyk, 166–175.

Vlasovsky, Ivan (1998): Essay on the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Kyiv, Naukova Dumka.

Yevtukh, Volodymyr & Bohdan Chirko (1994): Germans in Ukraine (1920–1990). Center for Ethnosociological and Ethnopolitical Studies of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Kyiv, Lybid.

Zinchenko, Arsen (1993): The Gospel of the National Spirit. Ukrainian Church in Podillya in the First Third of the XX century. Kyiv, Education.

Zinchenko, Arsen (1997): Free Yourself by Faith. Life and Deeds of Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky. Kyiv, Dnipro.

Zinchenko, Arsen (2003): Hierarchs of the Ukrainian Church: Metropolitan Mykola Boretsky, Archbishop Konstantin Krotevych, Metropolitan Ivan Pavlovsky. Kyiv, Ukrainian Publishing Union.

Received: 2020-05-21 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.21

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ROLE OF (FORMER) RED ARMY PRISONERS OF WAR AND WHITE EMIGRÉS IN SLOVENIA DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION, 1943–1945

Klemen KOCJANČIČ
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Defence Research Centre,
Kardeljeva ploščad 5, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: klemen.kocjancic@fdv.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

The article examines the role of Soviet prisoners of war and Russian émigrés that fought in Slovenia during World War II. The largest group consisted of Red Army soldiers who switched allegiances after being captured and agreed to fight for the Third Reich. They were joined by White émigrés who remained hostile to communism. But some émigrés and Soviets joined Slovenian partisans in the struggle against the occupiers, with most of them previously serving in German-led formations. Based on archival documents and published sources, the author provides an overview of such units and studies their impact.

Keywords: World War II, Slovenia, Soviet Union, White émigré, collaboration, Wehrmacht, Waffen-SS, partisans, Red Army

CONTRIBUTO RIGUARDO AL RUOLO DEGLI (EX) PRIGIONIERI DI GUERRA DELL'ARMATA ROSSA E DELL'«EMIGRAZIONE BIANCA» IN SLOVENIA DURANTE L'OCCUPAZIONE TEDESCA, 1943–1945

SINTESI

L'articolo prende in esame il ruolo dei prigionieri di guerra sovietici e gli emigrati russi che combattevano in Slovenia durante il secondo conflitto mondiale. Il gruppo più consistente era formato da soldati dell'Armata Rossa che dopo la cattura decisero di combattere per il Terzo Reich. A questi si unì un certo numero di «russi bianchi» emigrati all'estero, tipicamente ostili al comunismo. Alcuni di questi emigrati e cittadini sovietici, che si arruolarono precedentemente nelle formazioni costituite dai tedeschi, si unirono in seguito ai partigiani sloveni. Basandosi su fonti archivistiche e fonti edite, l'autore ci propone una disamina di questi reparti e ne analizza l'impatto a livello militare e politico.

Parole chiave: Seconda guerra mondiale, Slovenia, Unione Sovietica, «russi bianchi», collaborazionismo, Wehrmacht, Waffen-SS, partigiani, Armata Rossa

INTRODUCTION

For Slovenia, World War II began in April 1941, when Hitler's Wehrmacht invaded the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which included today's independent republic. Slovenia's population already included some former White Russians who had emigrated there after their defeat in the Civil War against the Bolsheviks twenty years earlier (Milenković & Pavlović, 2006). After Germany launched its invasion of the Soviet Union that June, they were joined by Soviet POWs, who were sent to Slovenia (or neighbouring Austria, Italy) by their captors. Because of the Eastern front's high death toll, Germans increasingly recruited Soviet POWs for their (para) military organization and the local populations of the countries they occupied to supplement their dwindling (military and labour) personnel pool (Edele, 2017).

While most Soviet personnel in German-led units remained loyal to their new masters, some joined these units with the goal of deserting and joining the resistance (in this case, Slovenian or Italian). Others did so after escaping from concentration camps (e. g. work, POW, … camps) in neighbouring countries, primarily Austria. In Slovenia, units of such collaborators – both willing and unwilling – first began to appear after Italy's capitulation in September 1943, when Germany needed additional forces to occupy the territory their erstwhile Axis partner had evacuated. Their presence was welcomed by partisan leaders, who valued their previous military training, war experience, and desire to fight once again against Axis forces, not to mention their (communist) Soviet origins. While far fewer "Russians"[1] fought for the partisans than the enemy, there were enough to form some separate units in their brigades.

The historiography on the phenomenon of collaboration of Russian/Soviet citizens with the Third Reich is plentiful, especially regarding Andrey Andreyevich Vlasov (*Андре́й Андре́евич Вла́сов*; 1901–1946), the most visible Russian collaborator and leader of the Russian Liberation Army (*Русская освободительная армия*; *РОА*/ROA).[2] Different ethnic groups of the Soviet Union also got academic attention, especially the Cossacks,[3] and peoples of the Caucasus.[4] In recent years, a lot of books on different Soviet-manned units in German service, connected with the SS or Waffen-SS, have been published.[5]

---

1 Both in wartime documents of the Slovenian partisans and Slovenian post-war literature, the term "Russian" is used not only for those of Russian ethnicity, but also as a synonym for all Soviet citizens of other nationalities. For the sake of simplicity, this article will not necessarily distinguish between the two. The Slovenian transliteration of Russian-language names is used to both preserve historical authenticity and to prevent any mis-transliteration. When known, the Cyrillic original is provided.

2 For more on Vlassov and ROA, cf.: Aleksandrov, 2001; Andreyev, 1987; Hoffmann, 1984, 2003; Kolesnik, 1990; Strik-Strikfeldt, 1970; Thorwald, 1974; Zaharov & Koluntaev, 1998.

3 For more on Cossacks in German service, cf.: Kern, 1964; Lannoy, 2000; Mueggenberg, 2019; Newland, 1991.

4 For more on Caucasians in German service, cf.: Hoffmann, 1974, 1976, 1991; Jeloschek et al., 2003.

5 For more on Soviet nationals in German service, cf.: Munoz, 2000; Žukov & Kovtun, 2009, 2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2013.

On the other hand, the historiography on the role of Soviet (Russian) people during World War II in Yugoslavia, is not so plentiful. Generally, there are overviews for the whole Yugoslav territory,[6] or dealing with specific units (regarding Russian Protective Corps,[7] the largest military formation formed from Russians in Yugoslavia). Even smaller group are works on Russians (Soviets) in Slovenia during this time and the majority of these works are focused on the involvement of Russians in the Slovenian partisan movement.[8] A specific group of literature deals with the presence of Cossacks and Caucasians, in German service, on the edge of Slovenian ethical territory, in Carnia (North-eastern Italy),[9] which was in the Italian part of the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral (*Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland*; OZAK).[10]

This article will provide an overview of the military units of émigrés and Soviets that fought in Slovenia both for and against the Germans. Aside from a few studies of specific collaborationist and partisan units, this aspect of military history has so far been largely neglected. Using wartime archival sources, primarily from the Slovenian national archives and the post-war literature, which were so far unexamined in the light of Soviet collaboration, it analyses the fragmentary documentation of Russian involvement in the fighting in occupied Slovenia during World War II. The story begins with the Russian collaborators, who were the first to take up arms.

WHITE EMIGRÉS IN INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA

After the end of World War I and Russian Civil War, defeated (former) Tsarist soldiers sought refuge abroad (in Germany, France, Turkey, Bulgaria, China),[11] with majority of them settling in the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.[12]

---

6 For more on Soviet nationals in Yugoslavia during World War II, cf.: Bušueva, 1973; Kazak, 1975; Timofeev, 2014, 2014.

7 For more on the RSK, cf.: Munoz, 1999; Samcevič, 2019; Vertepov, 1963.

8 For more on Soviet nationals in Slovenia during World War II, cf.: Pilko, 2004; Pulko, 2009.

9 For more on Cossacks in the OZAK, cf.: Booker, 1997; Bolzoni, 2009; Carnier, 1993; Deotto, 2005; Di Sopra & Cozzi, 2010; Franzolini, 2015; Ivanov, 1989; Rossa, 2007; Rossi, 2014; Stadler et al., 2005; Stefanutti, 1995; Verardo, 2010, 2016; Vuga, 1961.

10 For more on the OZAK, cf.: Bajc, 2006; Di Giusto, 2005; Kaltenegger, 2019; Liuzzi, 2014; Wedekind, 2003.

11 For more on Russian military emigration after World War I, cf.: Zolotarev et al., 1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2002.

12 Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed on 1 December 1918 with merger of kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro and short-lived State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. Under the rule of dynasty of Karađorđević, the kingdom was on 3 October 1929 renamed to Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Newly formed Yugoslavia was eager to except their brothers in faith (Serbs and Russians are majorly Orthodox Christians), who had military experience (due to several border conflicts with neighbouring countries) and were monarchists (and thus able to protect royal dynasty in the wake of emerging pro-republican trends in several European countries after World War I).

Between June 1921 and December 1922, around 42 thousand (former) Russian soldiers (and civilians), including family members arrived in Yugoslavia under the leadership of general baron Pyotr Nikolayevich Wrangel (*Пётр Николаевич Врангель*; 1878-1928). Wrangel tried to keep military discipline and organization in conjunction with Yugoslav officials; it was decided that (former) cavalry division would be included intact in the Yugoslav border guard, with Russian officers commanding. This arrangement lasted until April 1922, when the border guard was disbanded. Some Russian soldiers entered the newly established financial guard, but most became employees of the construction company *Tehnika*, still run as a military organization. The company was involved in several major construction projects in Yugoslavia and France. The number of Russians in Yugoslavia started to drop quite quickly due to migration in other European and South American countries; in 1937, there were 27,000 Russians still in Yugoslavia (majority in Serbia) (Milenković & Pavlović, 2004).[13]

Russians in Yugoslavia also formed or joined different émigré organizations: the most important was the Russian All-Military Union (*Русский Обще-Воинский Союз*; *РОВС*/ROVS) (Robinson, 2002). While ROVS kept an apolitical stance, several political organizations were also established. Russian National and Social Movement (*Российское национальное и социальное движение*; *Рнсд*/RNSD), formed in 1935 with inspiration from German National Socialism (Jdanoff, 2003). Mihail Aleksandrovič Semenov (*Михаил Александрович Семенов*; 1894–1965), former Tsarist officer, became a leader of RNSD department in 1941, after the Independent State of Croatia (Croatian: *Neodvisna država Hrvatska*; NDH) was formed (Samcevič, 2015).

In Slovenia specific, the 3rd Cavalry Regiment was sent as a part of the border guard, which presented the largest Russian group. Together with other civilians, around 600 Russians were living in Slovenia in 1921, and this number remained unchanged until 1941, when 588 Russian immigrants were registered in Slovenia (Perovšek, 2015).

FROM THE APRIL WAR TO ITALY'S CAPITULATION

On 6 April 1941, the Third Reich attacked the Kingdom of Yugoslavia simultaneously from four different neighbours that it had either incorporated or cajoled to its side: Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. The Wehrmacht rapidly overwhelmed the kingdom's weaker and technologically inferior armed forces, and their position became even more untenable when, five days later, Italian, and Hungarian troops joined the invasion. On the next day, Mussolini's soldiers occupied Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, and by April 17, Yugosla-

13 For more on Russian emigration after World War I, cf.: Schlögel, 1994; Figes, 1998.

via's military agreed to surrender. As a result, Slovenia's territory was divided between all four neighbouring countries: Germany took over the north, including Upper Carniola, Lower Styria, the northern part of the Lower Carniola, and north-western Prekmurje, while Italy obtained the southern regions of Inner Carniola, most of Lower Carniola and the capital.[14] As for Hungary, it occupied most of Prekmurje, and the newly-formed Axis puppet state of Croatia annexed six villages in Lower Carniola (Klanjšček, 1978).

As in most of occupied Europe, the resistance was quick to organise. On 26 April 1941, several leftist political groups formed the Anti-Imperialist Front (*Protiimperialistična fronta*; PIF), with the Communist Party of Slovenia (*Komunistična partija Slovenije*; KPS) quickly taking over the leadership. Later PIF was renamed to the Liberation Front of the Slovene Nation (*Osvobodilna fronta slovenskega naroda*; usually just *Osvobodilna fronta*; OF) (Čepič, Guštin & Troha, 2017). Two months later, on the day Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the KPS formed the High Command of the Slovene Partisans' Companies (*Vrhovno poveljstvo slovenskih partizanskih čet*), which in September was renamed the Main Command of the Slovene Partisans' Companies (*Glavno poveljstvo slovenskih partizanskih čet*).[15] At the same time, the nation's partisans were officially known as the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Slovenia (*Narodnoosvobodilna vojska in partizanski odredi Slovenije*; NOV in POS) (Čepič, Guštin & Troha, 2017; Klanjšček, 1978).

Italy's capitulation in September 1943 contributed to a large influx of volunteers as well as mass mobilization by the partisans. The ranks of the NOV in POS increased from about 5,300 to more 20,000 men and women. The partisans also disarmed retreating Italian troops. Slovenia's strategically important position between Italy, the Balkans, and Eastern Europe, thereby making them a dangerous threat to the Third Reich. Already a few days before his Axis partner's capitulation, Hitler had ordered his army to secure the Ljubljana-Postojna-Trieste railway, and then defeat or at least push partisan units away from major lines of communication and important towns in the territory that Italy was leaving (Haupt, 1977, 43–58).[16]

---

14 After World War I, Italy occupied the Adriatic Littoral (Primorska) region of current-day Slovenia.

15 Until the end of war, this command was renamed three more times: in early 1943 to the Main Command of Slovenian National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Slovenia (*Glavno poveljstvo slovenske narodnoosvobodilne vojske in partizanskih odredov Slovenije*), in May of the same year to the Main Command of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Slovenia (*Glavno poveljstvo narodnoosvobodilne vojske in partizanskih odredov Slovenije*; GŠ NOV in POS) and finally in March 1945 to the Main Command of the Yugoslav Army for Slovenia (*Glavni štab Jugoslovanske armade za Slovenijo*). At the same time, Slovenian partisan units also officially became part of the Yugoslav Army, previously the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia. With the complete integration of Slovenian partisan units into the Yugoslav Army, the command ceased to exist on 18 May 1945.

16 For more on Italian Campaign, cf.: Hoyt, 2002; Klinkhammer, 1993; Wilhelmsmeyer, 1995.

SOVIETS IN GERMAN SERVICE

Only a couple months after the invasion on Yugoslavia, Germany launched their most ambitious military campaign – conquest of the Soviet Union. In 1941, Red Army suffered terrible losses in territory, equipment, and military personnel; in addition to more than 500,000 killed soldiers (including those, that died due to their wounds) and more than 235,000 wounded, there were more than 2,3 million Soviet soldiers, that were missing or captured (Krivosheev, 1997, 96).

Some of these missing Soviet soldiers surrendered or defected to the German side due to the hopelessness of their situation, some were captured wounded, while most became prisoners of war (POW) in the mass surrender of entire military units, while being encircled by fast-advancing German formations. Altogether, at least 5.3 million Soviet soldiers ended up in German hands (Edele, 2017, 5; Otto, Keller & Nagel, 2008, 592).

From POW camps or in some cases directly after capture, between 600,000 to 1.4 million Soviets joined the German side, becoming *Hiwis* (German: *Hilfswilliger*) (Altstadt, 1992, 158). Hiwis were incorporated to German units, serving as truck drivers, ammunitions carriers, medics, labourers, etc. or were included to Soviet-manned (para)military formations. These formations could be indigenous security units (*Landeseigene Sicherungsverbände*), used primarily for counter-insurgency operations or national units, formed for front-line combat (Alexiev, 1982, 27–29). While some collaborated with Germans because of ideological or revenge motives (as victims of Soviet persecution), most just wanted to escape deadly conditions of German POW camps, where they were dying due to deliberate starvation, mistreating, harsh conditions, and summary executions; it's estimated that around 3.3 million Soviet POW died while in German captivity (Gerhard, 2015; Streit, 1997).

SOVIET COLLABORATORS IN SLOVENIA

During the first two years of the German occupation, there were no units manned mostly by Russians (or Soviet nationals) in northern Slovenia. This changed when Italy capitulated in September 1943.

Field Marshall Erwin Rommel's Army Group B occupied this area. It had already taken control of strategically important positions there in late August, and by the end of the month had secured all the border crossings and railways. The Italian Supreme Command's announcement of unconditional surrender on 8 September triggered full German intervention. But Rommel's forces were too weak to do the job, and on 15 September Hitler ordered the 162nd (Turkistan) Infantry Division (*162. (Turkistan) Infanterie-Division*) to be moved from Neuhammer training camp (now Świętoszów, Poland) to Slovenia, where it would be supplied with captured Italian weapons and equipment (Ferenc, 1968). The division would finish their training in Italy/Slovenia and at the same time, be

used to fight local partisans (Dossena, 2014, 102–103; more on the early history of the 162nd Division, cf.: Cerkvenik, 2020). The main reason for such a move was that the German High Command did not trust completely Soviet-manned formations to combat their compatriots on the Eastern Front, and thus they were sent in other regions of Europe to be used against partisans (as in the case of Slovenia, Italy, etc.) or occupation troops (France, Belgium, etc.).

At the time, the 162nd Infantry Division, which had been obliterated in Kalinin (Tver) on the Eastern Front in January 1942, was being reconstituted in Neuhammer into the 162nd "Turkistan" Division with several national "legions" of Soviet POWs, including the Armenian, Azerbaijan, Georgian, North Caucasus, Turkistan and Wolga Tatar Legions, commanded by its surviving German officers. The first five transport trains left Germany on 22 September and reached Ljubljana on 25 September. After the troops disembarked, the transport proceeded to the Italian city of Udine, to take on Italian weapons (Ferenc, 1968).

Initially destined for Istria, the men were instead sent to the Croatian capital of Zagreb. Their new task was to support the *II. SS-Panzer-Korps*, which was spearheading the German offensive against Slovenian partisans, although some units were left behind to help guard settlements in north-western Slovenia. The 162nd Division's orders were to advance from the Croatian city of Karlovac and secure the Metlika-Kolpa River that separates Slovenia from Croatia, to prevent Slovenian partisans from escaping across the border (Ferenc, 1968).

The Turkistan Division then participated in "cleaning" the southern part of the Lower Carniola, which lasted until mid-November. While most of the division was fighting in Lower Carniola, some of its men also saw combat in the Primorska and Goriška regions, as well as in north-eastern Italy. After their campaign in Lower Carniola concluded, the rest of the division rejoined the others until the end of the operation against partisans in November (Dossena, 2015, 102–103; Ferenc, 1968).

The 162nd Division was subordinated to Lieutenant General Ludwig Kübler, the military commander of the OZAK, which also had the 71st Infantry Division under his control. But the latter was sent to the Italian Front early in 1944, and, together with some smaller units, the 162nd was the primary counterinsurgency force in the OZAK. Due to increasing partisan activity and the fear of an Allied naval invasion on the northern Adriatic coast, two more infantry divisions were relocated here later in 1944, while 162nd Division was sent to the Ligurian coast (Dossena, 2015, 130–133; Klanjšček, 1999).

In June 1944, the 4th Company of the *Schutzmannschaften-Bataillon 11* arrived in the Slovenian resort town of Bled (*Veldes*) from Minsk, while the battalion's 2nd Company was sent to Klagenfurt, Austria. All its men, including some non-commissioned and junior officers were Russian or Belarusian, although under German command. Some 120 troops were tasked with protecting the headquarters of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (the intelligence service of the SS; SD) in Bled, to which the company was subordinated,

as well as for anti-partisan actions.[17] The latter included punishing local civilians suspected of supporting the partisans, by robbing, pillaging, etc.[18] The largest group of Soviet POWs that fought Slovenian partisans was not based in in Slovenia, but in neighbouring Italy, more precisely in Carnia and the wider region of Friuli Venezia Giulia. Here, the Germans set up the so-called *Kosakenland* (also *Kosakia*), an area where Cossacks and other Soviet collaborators could resettle upon fleeing the Soviet Union after the collapse of German Army Group Center. Numbering some 24,000 men, women and children, the Cossacks had travelled more than 1,000 km from Belarus led by Timotej Ivanovič Domanov. Most of them settled around the town of Tolmezzo, Kosakenland's capital. In 1945, Domanov formed an Independent Cossack Corps, with two divisions, each of four regiments, which became part of the Armed Forces of the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (*Вооружённые силы Комитета освобождения народов России*; *ВС КОНР*/VS KONR) (Landwehr, 2006, 89–95; Mueggenberg, 2019, 266). Before 1944, VS KONR was known as the Russian Liberation Army (*Русская освободительная армия*; POA/ROA). The Cossacks also fought against Slovenian partisans in March and April 1945 during operations *Rübenzahl* and *Winterende* in the Primorska region (Klanjšček, 1978, 371–407).

In September 1944, a new Russian-manned SS battalion (*SS-Jäger-Bataillon*; or *Sonderkommando K*) came to the Slovenian town of Kamnik in northern Upper Carniola. The unit's history began in April 1942 when it was formed in Serbia by local members of the White émigré community under Mihail Aleksandrovič Semenov. As part of the German auxiliary police (*Hilfspolizei*) there, its role was to protect the infrastructure of the towns of Smerderevo and Požarevac. But in summer 1943, the battalion was transferred to Upper Silesia, where it joined the SD's Operation Zeppelin (*Unternehmen Zeppelin*). Initially ordered to conduct sabotage and gather intelligence in the Soviet hinterland, it was re-tasked when Germany began to retreat on the Eastern Front. The battalion's remaining personnel, which now included Soviet POWs, were incorporated into the counterinsurgency brigade to combat Soviet partisans. But most of them rebelled and redefected to the Soviet side, while the remainder stayed loyal to the Germans, and were formed into a new light infantry (*Jäger*) battalion under Semenov (Central Intelligence Agency, 1946; Žukov & Kovtun, 2013, 214–216; For more on the Operation Zeppelin, cf.: Biddiscombe, 2000; Munoz, 2002; Samcevič, 2017).

In October 1944, the new battalion participated in anti-partisan operations around Kamnik and Upper Carniola more generally, while also combatting partisans in Lower Carniola (Pavlin, 1970, 300–302). Initially part of

17 ARS-1851, 78, Zapisnik o zaslišanju vojnih dezerterjev iz nemške vojske, …, 7. 11. 1944.
18 ARS-1848, 29, Uradi in postojanke Gestapa/Sichercheitspolizei und ZD/ na Gorenjskem, 5. 11. 1944.

the SS (under control of the SD, but supplied by the Waffen-SS), the unit was transferred to ROA (later VS KONR). The following month, Semenov's battalion was sent to Ljubljana, where it was reorganised into a regiment. For a week in December 1944, the battalion was sent to Lower Styria. The *SS-Sonder-Regiment I »Waräger«* (the SS Special Regiment "Varangians" was formally established on 20 February 1945 with two battalions of former POWs) (ARS-1851, 78, interrogation report of Jurij Artjuh, 11. 3. 1945). Early that month, parts of the unit were sent to Lower Carniola, where they were used to guard a string of villages along the Krka River, which marked the most southern extent of Germany's presence in Slovenia. The regiment fought here until the German retreat to Austria. Others participated in another anti-partisan operation in Upper Carniola between 19 March and 1 April (Kocjančič, 2017).

On 4 May, the *Waräger* began to retreat from their positions along Krka and managed to reach Austria, where on 11 May near the town of Villach they participated in the last battle against Slovenian partisans, who were trying to prevent their capitulation to British forces. During this time, the regiment was also transferred (on paper) to the Cossack group under VS KONR's General Anton Vasiljevič Turkul (*Антон Васильевич Туркул*), but remained under German control (Hoffmann, 2003, 81; Kociper, 1996, 373, 377; Smrke & Dokl, 1989, 88–91; Strle, 1976, 162–194; Timofeev, 2014, 52).

On 27 January 1945, a new Waffen-SS unit was formed from Caucasian POWs in the Italian part of the OZAK. In late February 1945, the Volunteer "North Caucasus" Brigade (*Freiwilligen-Brigade "Nordkaukasus"*) was formed from older (over 45 years old) men from the Caucasus who had settled in Udine Province, and the following month fought against partisans in Slovenia.[19] In April, Slovenian partisan intelligence reported the formation of the "SS Volunteer Infantry Division 'Azerbaijan'" as well as plans for two additional Waffen-SS divisions of Armenians and Georgians. It had discovered the *Kaukasische Waffen-Verbande der SS*, which was to be constituted from four regiments of Armenians, Georgians, North Caucasians, and Azerbaijani collaborators.[20] However, due to the Third Reich's collapse, it never saw the light of day. The men most likely joined the Cossacks in Carnia and surrendered to the British.

In February 1945, another unit of Soviet collaborators, the 14th Grenadier Division of Waffen-SS (Ukrainian Nr. 1), recruited from Ukrainian volunteers, in July 1943, marched into Slovenia. Before being fully formed, the division

19 ARS-1760, 257, Austellung des Kaukasischen Waffen-Verbandes der SS, 27. 1. 1945; ARS-1760, 257, Richtlinien für die Versorgung, 10. 2. 1945; ARS-1760, 257, Grundanweisung über die Gliederung der Kaukasier–Verbände, 28. 2. 1945; Ferenc, 1977b, 22; Klanjšček, 1999, 395–405.

20 ARS-1848, 32, information report Nr. 74 of the Intelligence Center of the Headquarters of the 9th Corps; ARS-1848, 23, report for the English military mission at the Headquarters of the 9th Corps, 16. 4. 1945; ARS-1851, 80, interrogation report of Mihael Bagirov, 30. 3. 1945.

had already fought on the Eastern front in July 1944. Badly mauled by the Red Army, in September 1944 the division was sent to Slovakia, where it helped suppress a Slovak uprising (Logusz, 1997, 51–308).

In late January 1945, the 14th Waffen-SS Division was sent to Lower Styria (with some units across the border in Austrian Styria), where it would complete its restructuring and participate in anti-partisan operations. Responsible for security on the Maribor-Celje railway, the division was also involved in several operations against partisans in Lower Styria, and Carniola (Heike, 1988, 101; Klanjšček, 1999, 388–394; Logusz, 1997, 308–323; Melnyk, 2002, 217–246; Zupanc, 1976, 144). Four months later it was once again ordered to fight against the Red Army, this time in Hungary, followed by Slovenia and Austria (Melynk, 2002, 246–256). The Ukrainian division also had to fight against Slovenian partisans in Austria. While some units managed to reach British forces, the partisans captured others (Dolničar, 2001, 75; Fajdiga, 1994, 625; Strle, 1976, 55–57, 103; Žnidarič, 2009, 733–734; For more on the Galician Waffen-SS division in Slovenia, cf.: Kocjančič, 2019).

The 15th Cossack Cavalry Corps was also recruited from Soviet citizens in Slovenia, albeit briefly. The corps traces its history to April 1943, when the 1st Cossack Cavalry Division (*1. Kosaken-Kavallerie-Division*) was established under the command of the German general Helmuth von Pannwitz. First deployed to Croatia in October 1943 to combat its partisans, from January 1944, the Cossacks also fought Slovenian partisans in Lower Carniola (Neulen, 1992, 316–318; Timofeev, 2014, 120; Kiauta, 1973, 426; Lah, 1975, 192–200; Strle, 1995, 27 sq.). That autumn, various independent Cossack units were merged into the division, which was administratively transferred to the Waffen-SS in November. But the following month, the 2nd Cossack Brigade clashed with the advancing Red Army in Pitomača, in what had been described as the "last battle of the Russian Civil War", since most of the troops on both sides were Russian.[21]

Planning to establish the 15th Cossack Cavalry Corps with two divisions began in late 1944 as well and was completed by late February 1945. Later that month, the corps added a third division (Littlejohn, 1987, 277; Timofeev, 2014, 132–133). Hopes of integrating the corps into the Russian Protective Corps were dashed when the latter's members objected to the move. On 24 March, an all-Cossack congress met in Virovitica and elected General von Pannwitz, as their *Ataman* (supreme military commander) (Munoz, 1999, 32; Timofeev 2014, 134–135). As the corps began retreating to Austria in late April, it marched through Slovenia, where it had to confront both Slovenian and Croatian partisans, as well as Soviet-Bulgarian units (Fabian, 2013, 16–21; Hnilicka, 1970,

21 ARS-1851, 64, Sestav sovražnih edinic, 31. 1. 1945; ARS-1851, 64, Pregled sovražnih edinic, nahajajočih se na teritoriju, katerega kontrolirajo edinice NOV in POS in na sosednem obmejnem ozemlju Hrvatske, 22. 7. 1944; Landwehr, 1983, 28–29; Mueggenberg, 2020, 267; Timofeev, 2014, 124–132.

141; Hribovšek, 1975, 177–210; Landwehr, 1983, Timofeev, 2014, 133–134). While the former captured some of the Cossacks, others managed to surrender to the British when they reached Austria.

The Russian Protective Corps, another formation of collaborators, also retreated through Slovenia. That unit began as the Separate Russian Corps (*Das Abgesonderte Russische Korps*) in September 1941, after the Germans occupied Yugoslavia. Later renamed the Russian Factory Protection Group (*Russischer Werkschutzgruppe*), it guarded important industrial sites in Serbia. At its height, the corps comprised four infantry and one cavalry regiment manned by White émigrés from Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria, who were subsequently joined by Soviet POWs. In October 1942, the corps was once again renamed the Russian Protective Corps (*Russisches Schutzkorps*) and incorporated into the Wehrmacht that December, but by the end of 1944 it was simply called the Russian Corps. Fleeing across Slovenia in late April and early May 1945, its soldiers managed to reach Austria (Samcevič, 2019, 49 sq.).

Large numbers of East Europeans, including Soviets, were also recruited into other German units in Slovenia. One such unit was sent to the OZAK where, led by Odilo Globočnik, it participated in Action Reinhardt (*Aktion Reinhardt*), a systematic, industrial scale campaign to murder so-called *Untermenschen*, i.e. Jews, Slavs, Roma people, etc., In occupied Poland, these units set up the concentration camps of Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, as well as a training camp in Travniki. The latter's *Trawniki-Männer* (officially *SS-Wachmannschaften*) were mainly Ukrainians who were being taught to be guards at the concentration camps (Arad, 1999, 14 sq., Black, 2011, 5 sq.).

As the Germans retreated on the Eastern front, they closed the camps, and in October 1943, Globočnik and some of his German and Ukrainian staff were sent to the OZAK. Here they set up a new concentration camp in a former rice factory (*Risiera di San Sabba*) in the Italian port of Trieste, where they continued to exterminate Jews and others (Di Giusto & Chiussi, 2016, 16; Ferenc, 1974a, 218; 1974b, 375 sq.; Wedekind, 2003, 310). The Soviet collaborators who arrived in Trieste formed the nucleus of the *SS-Wachmannschaften "Triest."* Soon joined by local recruits, the formation guarded the camp as well as local roads and the surrounding area. In February 1944, *"Triest"* consisted of one company of Ukrainians and three more of local (Italian, Slovenian, and Croatian) recruits. Globočnik and his men fled to Austria on the night of 28–29 April 1945 (Di Giusto & Chiussi, 2016, 28 sq.; Ferenc, 1977b, 284–285).

SOVIET PARTISANS IN SLOVENIA

While many Russians in Slovenia served the Germans during the occupation, several hundred of their compatriots ended up in the ranks of Slovenian partisans. They did so in various ways. The smallest (and least well known due to the lack of sources) group consisted of White émigrés living in Slo-

venia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. One example is Aleksander Glebov, the son of Colonel Ivan Glebov, the president of the Russian All-Military Union (*Русский Обще-Воинский Союз*; РОВС/ROVS). When the war began, the Glebov family was living in the Slovenian city of Maribor, while Alexander had already been commissioned in the Yugoslav Royal Army. At first, he joined the military of the NDH, but in 1942, he defected with his whole battalion to the partisans. He survived the war with the rank of major. Another White officer who lived to see the end of the war was Oleg Križanovski. The son of a Tsarist colonel and a noble mother he joined the Second Group of Detachments (of NOV in POS) in March 1942, reaching the rank of captain. From Kranj, Timofej Ponomarenko joined the partisans in 1944, while Mihael Kostjukovski, from Novo Mesto, became a political commissar of the Lower Carniola Detachment (*Dolenjski odred*). One more active Yugoslav officer of Russian origin, Viktor Ljaševski, was captured in April, but was then liberated by the Red Army. He joined them in fighting at the Srem front and served in the Yugoslav (People's) Army until the Informbiro affair (Pulko, 2004, 60–61).

Escaped Soviet citizens, both civilians and POWs interned in Slovenia, Italy or Austria, some as forced labour, joined the partisans in larger numbers. Bezargalij Nurekinov was one of them. Born in 1915 in West Kazakhstan, he joined the Red Army's 309th Division and was captured during the battle for Viazma that October. Until May 1942, he was among the 18,000 Soviet POWs in Zhitomir Oblast. Then sent to a labour battalion that toiled in Poland and Czechoslovakia, in June 1944, he was transferred to France along with 1,400 others. However, after a mass desertion, the remainder were quickly rerouted to Karlsruhe in Germany and, on Christmas Day 1944, to Lugo. Here he looked after the horses of the German 356th Infantry Division's artillery regiment. As the division moved back to Germany in late January 1945, Nureikinov and a compatriot jumped from the train near Udine, where they met up with Italian partisans, who sent them to their Slovenian comrades.[22]

Mihael Kudimov was another escapee. Born in 1923 in Kujbyševská *Oblast*, he volunteered for the Red Army in September 1941. He was captured in August 1942 near Voronezh and sent to a POW camp in Graz, Austria. However, in May 1944, he managed to escape and made it to Maribor, where he joined the partisans.[23]

The largest contingent of Soviet citizens in the ranks of the Slovenian partisans were former soldiers of German-led units. Most had volunteered to fight for their captors as POWs to escape the camps, where harsh conditions, abuse by guards, malnutrition and hard labour caused thousands of deaths. Others joined the Wehrmacht because of their ideological leanings, being anti-communists or nationalists.

22 ARS-1848, 28, interrogation report of Bezargalij Nurekinov, 5. 2. 1945.
23 ARS-1851, 79, interrogation report of Mihael Kudimov, 3. 10. 1944.

Feodor Čeoboterjov, a Cossack veterinarian from Rostov *Oblast*, was mobilized into the Red Army's 34th Cavalry Division in August 1941. During the fighting on the Don River a year later, the Germans captured him, and he was sent to various POW camps in Poland and Germany. In May 1944, he and other Cossacks were gathered in a camp near Warsaw, where they formed a Don Cossack regiment. After several months in Poland, they were sent to Austria in August and then to Tarcento, Udine Province. As a member of the 1st Cossack Regiment, he participated in the clashes around the town of Nimis in September. After being wounded and captured by Slovenian partisans, he convalesced in one of their hospitals.[24]

Nikolaj Sapotkin was still a high school student in Smolensk when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union. While hiding in a forest with other villagers, he was shot and sent to a German hospital and eventually a camp. In late February 1944, Nikolaj had been conscripted into a Russian-manned cavalry regiment in Belarus, where it built fortifications and fought Soviet partisans. The regiment was redeployed in July to Poland, where it was disarmed and he was then enrolled in the German 194th Grenadier Regiment in Kozina, Slovenia. Here he tended horses for an artillery battery. On duty for just 10 days, he fell ill. He was sent to a hospital in Gorizia, where he deserted and joined Slovenian partisans, which sent him to the "Russian Battalion".[25]

Russians served in many, if not most (or even all), units of the NOV in POS, but the majority were in the partisan units that operated against their compatriots in German service. There was ample opportunity for the latter to desert and join the partisans. To date, Bušueva has identified the following Slovenian partisan units with Russians in their ranks:

- 14th and 18th Slovenian divisions (both part of the Slovenian 7th Corps of NOV in POS),
- 1st Russian Assault Brigade (part of the 30th Division of the 9th Corps),
- 1st Brigade "Tone Tomšič" (of the 14th Slovenian Division),
- Russian Company of the 3rd Brigade "Ivan Gradnik" (31st Slovenian Division),
- 6th Brigade "Slavko Šlander" (15th Slovenian Division),
- Russian Company of the 11th Brigade "Miloš Zidanšek",
- 15th Brigade (of the 15th Slovenian Division),
- 16th Slovenian Brigade "Janko Premrl Vojko" (of the 30th Division),
- 17th Slovenian Brigade "Simon Gregorčič" (of the 30th Division),
- Russian Battalion of 19th Brigade "Slavko Kosovel" (30th Division),
- Upper Carniola Partisan Detachment (*Gorenjski partizanski odred*),
- Russian Platoon of Goriška Brda-Benečija Partisan Detachment (*Briško-beneški partizanski odred*),

24 ARS-1848, 28, interrogation report of Feodor Čeoboterjov, 8. 11. 1944.
25 ARS-1848, 28, interrogation report of Nikolaj Sapotkin, 24. 2. 1945.

- Kamnik-Zasavje Partisan Detachment (*Kamniško-zasavski partizanski odred*),
- Kozjansko Partisan Detachment (*Kozjanski partizanski odred*),
- Inner Carniola Partisan Detachment (*Notranjski partizanski odred*),
- Pohorje Partisan Detachment/Slavko's Battalion (*Pohorski partizanski odred*/*Slavkov bataljon*),
- Battalion of Tank Detachment of the Main Command of NOV in POS,
- The Main Command of NOV in POS itself.

Some Russians/Soviets also served, or were patients, in partisan medical units, including the Medical Detachment, the 15th Brigade, the 15th Division, and the 7th Corps, or in such hospitals as "Zalesje", "Snežnik", "Por", "Košuta", "Topolščica", "Vinica", "Zgornji Hrastnik", "Jelendol", among other (Bušueva, 1973, 197–205).

As the list shows, while most Russians served individually in various units, there were some where they formed a separate (sub)unit. For example, in January 1944 the headquarters of the Slovenian partisans' 31st Division of the 9th Corps issued an order to the 7th Assault Brigade "France Prešeren" and other units regarding "former members of the Red Army who had escaped from the German army or had surrendered to our units in battle". The partisan commanders noted that these men "don't realize the severity [of their situation] and there were several cases of indiscipline as well as of volunteers leaving their units". Furthermore, "they don't realize that they committed treason against their country when they fought with weapons in German ranks". To rectify this, the division's command decided to form "a special company or platoon from all Red Army members, which will have its own commander and political commissar," and be subordinated to one of its brigades. At the same time, all partisan detachments had to transfer former Red Army troops to the division to form such units.[26]

There were formal links between the Red Army and the Soviet partisans in Slovenia thanks to the presence of a Soviet military mission led by Lieutenant-Colonel Ivan Petrovič Ribačenko (*Иван Петрович Рыбаченко*) in the 9th Partisan Corps. Ribačenko even paid a visits to some of his countrymen among the partisans ranks. Thus, on 20 August 1944, he met Russian partisans in the 2nd Battalion of the 18th Brigade led by Anatolij Ignjatovič Djačenko (*Анатолий Игнйатьевич Дьяченко*) (Pilko, 2004, 434–435). Former Red Army soldiers and other Russians who had served in German-led units, were worried about their fate after the war, and Ribačenko addressed them to allay their concerns. While he harshly condemned those, who had carried German arms, he stated that the only way to be a true Soviet citizen was to atone for

26 ARS-1843, 2, order of the headquarters of the 31st Division to the headquarters of the 7th Assault Brigade "France Prešeren", 25. 1. 1944.

their treason with blood. Convinced that they could return home if they fought sincerely as partisans, the Russians reacted positively to his speech (Bavec-Branko, 1970, 323–324).[27]

There were also some Soviet citizens in the *Gradnikova brigada* of the 9th Corps, such as the Azerbaijani Mehti Huseynzade. He was mobilized into the Red Army in 1941, but was wounded and captured by the Germans in August 1942 during the Battle of Stalingrad. Forced to join the 162nd Division, he managed to organise a mass desertion in February 1944. The Slovenian partisans sent him to the *Gradnikova brigada*'s Russian Company, but he later became a saboteur (*diverzant*), where he was known as Mihajlo. In this new capacity, Huseynzade would infiltrate Trieste and other German-held settlements to talk to other Soviets and convince about 150 of them to desert. He also planted explosives in buildings the Germans frequented. Thus, on April 2nd he blew up a cinema, followed by the *Soldatenheim* some three weeks later, killing over 100 enemy troops in both cases. At the same time, he set off bombs in six other German barracks, two electrical stations, and the office of a fascist newspaper. He was killed on 2 November 1944 while returning from another successful mission, and was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union in 1957 (Petelin, 1983, 350–354; Zupanc, 2007).

The Russian battalion began as a company formed of Russians in the fall 1943 as part of the 2nd Battalion of the 18th Bazovica Brigade. As the number of Russians and other non-Slovenians in the brigade grew, in December the headquarters of the 30th Division, to which it was subordinated, organized them into the 2nd (International) Battalion with three companies, composed of Russians, Serbo-Croatians, and Slovenes. Additional desertions and POWs from the German 162nd Division led to the battalion's reorganization in early 1944 into two Russian companies and one Yugoslav. In March, the 30th Division decided to group all foreign personnel in units according to their nationality. As a result, the 18th Brigade now consisted of the 1st (Slovenian) Battalion, 2nd (Russian) Battalion and 3rd (Serbo-Croat-Slovenian) Battalion. The Russians even formed their own cultural group with singers, dancers and reciters, and published a newspaper. The battalion fought in all the brigade's actions, and the partisan commanders regarded its members highly. Thus, on 3 May 1945, the battalion distinguished itself in the fight for the Opčine, the last German-held settlement before Trieste. On the same day, Ribačenko asked the division to have all its Soviet personnel assembled to be sent back to the Soviet Union before the long-awaited attack on Trieste. But before they left, 88 members of the 2nd Battalion were decorated, and some were also promoted. For example,

27 First Soviet military mission arrived in Slovenia on 17 March 1944 and was attached to the GŠ NOV in POS. The second Soviet military mission was attached to the Command of the Partisan 9th Corps (from June 1944) and the third was attached to the command of the 4th Operational Zone (from December 1944) (Dornik-Šubelj, 1995, 108–109).

one of the few partisans who had been with the 18th Brigade from the start, Djačenko was made a major. Formed into a Russian march brigade (*pohodna brigada*), rather than an assault brigade, they left for their homeland (Bavec-Branko, 1970, 198–533).

The *Zidanškova brigade* included the more short-lived Russian battalion in April 1945. Initially a company of about 50 men, as 148 Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian volunteers joined them, it grew into the 5th (Russian) Battalion. The battalion participated in heavy fighting against German units trying to reach Austria, including the 14th Waffen-SS Division and the Cossack Corps. The brigade entered Maribor, the largest city in Lower Styria, on 10 May 1945. That same day two Soviet officers demanded that brigade headquarters release the Russian battalion. While this was carried out the following morning, some of the partisans escaped to avoid falling into the Red Army's hands (Fajdiga, 1975, 655–694).

One of the lesser-known episodes of Soviet (Russian) internees in Slovenia is the story of company (later brigade) "Stary", which was formed from Eastern European internees from the concentration camp Mauthausen-Loibl. After the liberation of two Loibl camps on 8 May 1945, internees formed two units (French-led brigade "Liberté" and Polish-led "Stary") as part of the NOV in POS. Among the members of the "Stary" unit were also 20 Russian internees and 3 female forced labourers in Austrian Carinthia. The "Stary" participated in the last battles of World War II in Carinthia and was then repatriated from Slovenia on 1 June 1945 (Tišler & Rovšek, 1995, 392–407).

AFTER THE WAR

When Viktor Cvelbar-Stane, the *Zidanškova brigada*'s former commander went to the Soviet Union after the war for some military training, he met two Russians who had fought with the Slovenian partisans. Having previously worn a Wehrmacht uniform, both were sentenced to six to eight years of hard labour after returning home (Fajdiga, 1975, 694). Service in the partisan units could be an extenuating circumstance that might result in a lighter punishment for Soviet soldiers who were captured, ended up in German POW camps and perhaps even served the enemy. Those who stayed and continued to fight for the Third Reich until the end could expect either the Gulag or execution when they were sent back to the Soviet Union according to the terms of the Yalta and Tehran Conferences.

While most Soviet-manned units in German service managed to reach Austria, some stayed or made it to Northern Italy. Several ten thousand strong each, they surrendered to British and American forces. While most were handed over to the Soviet military, others were luckier and managed to return to Yugoslavia or remain under British control. Thus, former Red Army troops in the *Waräger* Regiment went back home, while White émigrés were eventually released and

allowed to settle in Western Europe or the American hemisphere (Hoffmann, 2003, 81; Timofeev, 2014, 52). A similar fate befell the members of the 14th Waffen-SS division. Some were captured or turned over to Yugoslavia, but most were sent to Allied POW camp in Rimini, Italy, and after some time allowed to settle in the United Kingdom.[28]

The Cossacks suffered most. Almost all, around 40,000, including their families and their German officers, were turned over to the Soviets (Koller, 2013; Landwehr, 1983, 32). Civilians were sentenced to eight years in the camps, and the Cossacks soldiers to 25–50 years. As for Pannwitz and majority of the senior Cossack commanders, they were executed in 1947 (Landwehr, 1983, 32; Tolstoy, 1979, 220 sq.).

CONCLUSION

During World War II, several thousand Soviet citizens and White émigrés fought under German command against Slovenian partisans and most of them remained in the Third Reich's service until the end of the war. Their units belonged to different military and security (police) organizations, including the German Army (*Heer*), the SD, the Waffen-SS, and ROA/VS KONR. Some of these units had German commanders and staff, while others were commanded by foreign officers, a lot of them coming from the ranks of the Russian White Émigré community. These Soviet-manned formations were critical to the German occupational regime in Slovenia, because they provided necessary manpower to fight the Slovenian partisans, allowing more trustworthy German troops to be pulled from Slovenia and sent to the front against Western Allies and especially against the Soviet Red Army. At different times, these collaborationist units represented the main German counterinsurgency force in the territory of the OZAK.

But they were not completely trusted by their German superiors, and their wartime successes were not plentiful. A lot of their counterinsurgency actions turned into looting, pillaging, and killing of the civilian population. Another problem with these troops was a high percentage of desertion to the partisan side, in Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. Several hundred - perhaps even over a thousand – Russians and other Soviet nationals are estimated to have joined the Slovenian partisans to fight against the Germans and their own compatriots, still in German service. Considered effective and dedicated soldiers, they tried to redeem themselves for their past actions – serving in the German military forces. Not only did they engage in combat, but some also carried out sabotage, intelligence gathering and propaganda work

28 ARS-1931, 390, interrogation report of Helmut Roggenkamp, 27. 8. 1948; TNA HO 213/1851, Refugee Screening Commission: Report on Ukrainians in Sep Camp No. 374 Italy, 21. 2. 1947; Fajdiga, 1944, 627–631; Logusz, 1997, 357–362; Marolt, 1993, 406–408; Stojanovič, 2006, 38; Žnidarič, 2009, 750.

and thus contributing to the victory of the Allied side (including partisans) in World War II. Some individuals distinguished themselves in combat and were awarded even the title of "Hero of Soviet Union".

But majority of Soviet collaborators stayed in German service until the end of World War II, when they attempted to surrender to Western Allies (in Italy or Austria) in order to avoid being captured by the Soviet Red Army or Yugoslav partisans. While a lot of Soviet collaborators managed to reach and surrender to the British or American forces, the majority of them (Soviet citizens) were turned over to the Red Army and repatriated to the Soviet Union. Their ultimate faith was spending several years of a prolonged hard labour in the Gulag system (for lower ranking personnel) or execution (for higher ranking personnel). A fortunate few (non-Soviet citizens) stayed in the captivity of the Western Allies and after their release, they moved to different countries in Europe and Americas.

Much like during the Russian Civil War, former compatriots or even brothers-in-arms occasionally confronted each other on the battlefield. But now they were all abroad, in foreign uniforms, fighting far away from their homeland for other countries. We do not know how many Soviet citizens died in Slovenia, whether as internees, POWs, soldiers in German service or partisans. Their stories and fates deserve more attention and research.

PRISPEVEK K VLOGI (NEKDANJIH) RDEČEARMIJSKIH VOJNIH UJETNIKOV IN BELIH EMIGRANTOV V SLOVENIJI MED NEMŠKO OKUPACIJO, 1943–1945

Klemen KOCJANČIČ
Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Obramboslovni raziskovalni center, Kardeljeva ploščad 5, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: klemen.kocjancic@fdv.uni-lj.si

POVZETEK

Članek predstavlja vlogo sovjetskih vojnih ujetnikov in ruskih »belogardistov«, ki so se borili v Sloveniji med drugo svetovno vojno. Največjo skupino so predstavljali vojaki Rdeče armade, ki so v vojnem ujetništvu prestopili na nemško stran in vstopili v njihove oborožene sile. Njim so se pridružili tudi pripadniki bele emigracije, ki so živeli v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji in sosednjih državah ter bili sovražni komunizmu. Medtem ko so oni služili tretjemu rajhu, so se drugi migranti in sovjetski državljani v Sloveniji pridružili lokalnim komunističnim partizanom v boju proti okupatorjem, pri čemer je večina od njih predhodno služila v nemškim vojaških formacijah. Na podlagi arhivskega gradiva in literature, avtor predstavi pregled takih enot in njihovega vpliva na bojevanje na tem področju. Argumentira, da so kolaboracionisti predstavljali poglavitno podporo svojim novim gospodarjem z nadzorom prebivalstva in bojem proti partizanom, tudi svojim sodržavljanom. Manjšina, sestavljajoč iz migrantov in sovjetskih državljanov, ki so se uprli okupaciji, je prav tako imela vpliv, zahvaljujoč svojemu vojaškemu znanju in sovražnosti proti silam osi.

Ključne besede: druga svetovna vojna, Slovenija, Sovjetska zveza, bela emigracija, kontrarevolucija, Wehrmacht, Waffen-SS, partizani, Rdeča armada

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

ARS-1760 – Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana (ARS), SI AS 1760, Višji vodja SS in policije v operacijski coni Jadransko primorje, 1943–1945.

ARS-1843 – ARS, SI AS 1843, Brigade enaintridesete divizije, 1943–1945.

ARS-1848 – ARS, SI AS 1848, Deveti korpus narodnoosvobodilne vojske in partizanskih odredov Jugoslavije, 1943–1945.

ARS-1851 – ARS, SI AS 1851, Glavni štab narodnoosvobodilne vojske in partizanskih odredov Slovenije, 1941–1945.

ARS-1931 – ARS, SI AS 1931, Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve Socialistične republike Slovenije, 1918–2004.

Central Intelligence Agency – Secret Counter Intelligence War Room London Situation Report No. 8: Amt VI of the RSHA Gruppe VI C (28 February 1946). https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/GERMAN%20INTELLIGENCE%20SERVICE%20(WWII),%20%20VOL.%202_0008.pdf (last access: 2016-07-17).

TNA HO 213 – The National Archives, Kew-London (TNA), Home Office: Aliens Department: General (GEN) Files and Aliens' Naturalization and Nationality (ALN and NTY Symbol Series) Files (HO 213).

Aleksandrov, Kirill (2001): Oficerskij korpus armii general-lejtenanta A.A. Vlasova, 1944–1945: biografičeskij spravočnik. Sankt-Peterburg, Russko-Baltijskij informacionnyj centr.

Alexiev, Alex (1982): Soviet Nationalities in German Wartime Strategy, 1941–1945. Santa Monica, California, Rand.

Altstadt, Audrey L. (1992): The Azerbaijani Turks. Power and Identity under Russian Rule. Stanford, California, Hoover Institution Press.

Andreyev, Catherine (1987): Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement: Soviet Reality and Émigré Theories. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Arad, Yitzhak (2009): Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps. Bloomington. Indianapolis, Indiana University Press.

Bajc, Gorazd (2006): Operacija Julijska krajina: Severovzhodna meja Italije in zavezniške obveščevalne službe (1943–1945). Koper, Univerza na Primorskem, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko.

Bavec-Branko, Franjo (1970): Bazoviška brigada. Ljubljana, Odbor Bazoviške brigade v Ljubljani, Partizanska knjiga.

Biddiscombe, Perry (2000): Unternehmen Zeppelin: The Deployment of SS Saboteurs and Spies in the Soviet Union, 1942–1945. Europe-Asia Studies, 52, 1115–1142.

Black, Peter (2011): Foot Soldiers of the Final Solution: The Trawniki Training Camp and Operation Reinhard. Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 25, 1–99.

Bolzoni, Adriano (2009): I dannati di Vlassov: il dramma dei russi antisovietici nella seconda guerra modiale. Milano, Mursia.

Booker, Christopher A. (1997): Looking-glass Tragedy: The Controversy over the Repatriations from Austria in 1945. London, Duckworth.

Bušueva, Tatjana C. (1973): Sovetskie ljudi v osvoboditel′noj bor′be jugoslavskogo naroda: 1941–1945 gg. Vospominanija, dokumenty i materialy. Moskva, Nauka.

Carnier, Pier Arrigo (1993): L'armata cosacca in Italia: 1944–1945. Milano, Mursia.

Cerkvenik, Denis (2020): Nacistična rekrutacija in urjenje sovjetskih vojnih ujetnikov na primeru 162. turkestanske divizije (1942–42). Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 3, 220–238.

Čepič, Zdenko, Damijan Guštin & Nevenka Troha (2017): Slovenija v vojni: 1941–1945. Ljubljana, Modrijan.

Deotto, Patrizia (2005): Stanitsa Terskaja: I'illusione cosacca di una terra: Verzegnis, ottobre 1944-maggio 1945. Udine, Gaspari.

Di Giusto, Stefano & Tommaso Chiussi (2016): Globocnik's Men in Italy, 1943–45: Abteilung R and the SS-Wachmannschaften of the Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland. Atglen, Schiffer Publishing.

Di Giusto, Stefano (2005): Operationszone Adriatisches Küstenland: Udine, Gorizia, Treste, Pola, Fiume e Lubiana durante l'occupazione tedesca. Udine, Instituo Friulano per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione.

Di Sopra, Luciano & Rodolfo Cozzi (2010): Le due giornate di Ovaro: Friuli: cosacchi, partigiani e civili in un paese in fiamme: 1-2 maggio 1945. Udine, Aviani & Aviani.

Dolničar, Ivan (2001): Sklepne operacije in boji v severni Sloveniji. In: Klanjšček, Zdravko (ed.): Kako se je končala druga svetovna vojna na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Društvo piscev zgodovine NOB Slovenije, 50–75.

Dornik-Šubelj, Ljuba (1995): Ustanovitev oddelka za zaščito naroda za Slovenijo. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, XXXV, 103–115.

Dossena, Paolo A. (2015): Hitler's Turkestani Soldiers. A History of the 162nd (Turkistan) Infantry Division. Solihull, Helion & Company.

Edele, Mark (2017): Stalin's Defectors. How Red Army Soldiers became Hitler's Collaborators, 1941–1945. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Fabian, Ferdinand (2013): Priznal je: Spomini nemškega vojaka na ujetništvo v Jugoslaviji 1945–1951. Ljubljana, Orbis.

Fajdiga, Mirko (1975): Zidanškova brigada. Ljubljana, Maribor, Partizanska knjiga, Odbor Zidanškove brigade.

Fajdiga, Mirko (1994): Bračičeva brigada na Štajerskem, Koroškem in Gorenjskem: II. del: 2. knjiga. Maribor, Obzorja.

Ferenc, Tone (1968): Kapitulacija Italije in narodnoosvobodilna borba v Sloveniji jeseni 1943. Maribor, Obzorja.

Ferenc, Tone (1974a): Satan, njegovo delo in smrt. Borec, 4, 205–226.

Ferenc, Tone (1974b): Satan, njegovo delo in smrt: Nadaljevanje in konec. Borec, 6–7, 275–300.

Ferenc, Tone (1977a): Lalka v Trstu, Gorici in Vipavski dolini: 'Kralj smrti' iz Treblike Kurt Franz – učitelj slovenskih in italijanskih kolaboracionistov. Borec, 5, 277–286.

Ferenc, Tone (1977b): Nemška policija v operacijski coni 'Jadransko primorje' 1943–1945: 3. Borec, 1, 15–32.

Figes, Orlando (1998): Die Tragödie eines Volkes. Die Epoche der russischen Revolution 1891 bis 1924. Berlin, Berlin-Verlag.

Franzolini, Diedo (2015): Kazacija zemlja. Terra Cosacca al confine orientale d'Italia 1944-1945. Udine, Aviani&Aviani Editori.

Gerhard, Gesine (2015): Nazi Hunger Politics. A History of Food in the Third Reich. Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, Rowman & Littlefield. ePub ed.

Haupt, Werner (1977): Kriegsschauplatz Italien: 1943–1945. Stuttgart, Motorbuch Verlag.

Heike, Wolf-Dietrich (1988): The Ukrainian Division 'Galicia,' 1943–45: A Memoir. Toronto, Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Hnilicka, Karl (1970): Das Ende auf dem Balkan 1944/45: Die militärische Räuming Jugoslaviens durch die deutsche Wehrmacht. Göttingen, Musterschmidt.

Hoffmann, Joachim (1974): Deutsche und Kalmyken 1942 bis 1945. Freiburg im Breisgau, Rombach.

Hoffmann, Joachim (1976): Die Ostlegionen 1941–1943: Turkotataren, Kaukasier und Wolgafinnen im deutschen Heer. Freiburg im Breisgau, Rombach.

Hoffmann, Joachim (1984): Die Geschichte der Wlassow-Armee. Freiburg im Breisgau, Rombach.

Hoffmann, Joachim (1991): Kaukasien 1942–1943: Das deutsche Heer und die Orientvölker der Sowjetunion. Freiburg im Breisgau, Rombach.

Hoffmann, Joachim (2003): Die Tragödie der »Russischen Befreiungsarmee« 1944/45: Wlassow gegen Stalin. München, Herbig.

Hoyt, Edwin P. (2002): Backwater War: The Allied Campaign in Italy, 1943–1945. Westport, London, Praeger.

Hribovšek, Mitja (1975): Prekmurska brigada. Ljubljana, Partizanska knjiga in Odbor Prekmurske brigade.

Ivanov, Alessandro (1989): Cosacchi perduti: dal Friuli all'URSS 1944–45. Tricesimo, Aviani.

Jdanoff, Denis (2003): Russische Faschisten. Der nationalsozialistische Flügel der russischen Emigration im Dritten Reich (Magisterarbeit). Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Jeloschek, Albert, Friedrich, Richter, Ehrenfried, Schütte & Johannes Semler (2003): Freiwillige vom Kaukasus. Georgier, Armenier, Aserbaidschaner, Tschetschenen u.a. auf deutscher Seite. Der ‚Sonderverband Bergmann' unter Theo Oberländer. Graz, Stuttgart, Stocker.

Kaltenegger, Roland (2019): Die Operationszone ‚Adriatisches Küstenland': Der Kampf um Triest, Istrien und Fiumi 1944–1945. Würzburg, Flechsig Verlag.

Kazak, Vladimir N. (1975): Pobratimy. Sovetskie ljudi v antifašistskoj bor′be narodov balkanskih stran: 1941–1945. Moskva, Mysl′.

Kern, Erich von (1964): General von Pannwitz und seine Kosaken. Göttingen, Plesse.

Kiauta, Ladislav (1973): Na bojni črti Osemnajste: zgodovinski oris 18. divizije NOV in PO Jugoslavije. Ljubljana, Borec.

Klanjšček, Zdravko (1999): Deveti korpus slovenske narodnoosvobodilne vojske 1943–1945. Ljubljana, Društvo piscev zgodovine NOB Slovenije.

Klanjšček, Zdravko (ed.) (1978): Narodnoosvobodilna vojna na Slovenskem 1941–1945. Tretja izdaja. Ljubljana, Vojaški zgodovinski inštitut Jugoslovanske ljudske armade and Inštitut za zgodovino delavskega gibanja v Ljubljani.

Klinkhammer, Lutz (1993): L'occupazione tedesca in Italia: 1943–1945. Torino, Bollati Boringhieri.

Kociper, Stanko (1996): Kar sem živel: Spomini. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Kocjančič, Klemen (2017): Between Vlasov and Himmler: Russian SS-Sonder-Regiment 1 'Waräger' in Slovenia, 1944–45. The Journal of Slavic Military Studies, 30, 1, 50–60.

Kocjančič, Klemen (2019): Galicijski levi v bojih proti partizanom: 14. grenadirska divizija Waffen-SS (galicijska št. 1) na Slovenskem. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 3, 815–849.

Kolesnik, Aleksander N. (1990): ROA — Vlasovskaja armija. Sudebnoe delo A. A. Vlasova. Har′kov, Prostor.

Koller, Christian (2013): ‚Not exactly our finest hour': Geschichte und Memoria der Kosaken auf dem Balkan im Zweiten Weltkrieg. http://portal-militaergeschichte.de/koller_kosaken (last access: 2013-05-27).

Krivosheev, Grigori F. (ed.) (1997): Soviet Casualties and Combat Losses in the Twentieth Century. London and Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, Greenhill Books and Stackpole Books.

Lah, Borivoj (1975): Prva slovenska artilerijska brigada. Ljubljana, Partizanska knjiga, Odbor Prve slovenske artilerijske brigade.

Landwehr, Richard (1983): The Cossack Cavalry Corps of the Waffen-SS. Siegrunen, 32, 23–30.

Landwehr, Richard (2006): Steadfast Hussars: The Last Cavalry Divisions of the Waffen-SS. Brookings, Oregon and Bennington, Vermont, Siegrunen and Merriam Press.

Lannoy, François de (2000): Les cosaques de Pannwitz = Pannwitz cossacks: 1942–1945. Bayeux, Heimdal.

Littlejohn, David (1987): Foreign Legions of the Third Reich: Volume 4: Poland, the Ukraine, Bulgaria, Romania, Free India, Estoania, Latvia, Lithuanian, Finland and Russia. San Jose, R. James Bender Publishing.

Liuzzi, Giorgio (2014): Violenza e repressione nazista nel Litorale Adriatico: 1943–1945. Trieste, Instituto regionale per la storio del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli Venezia Giulia.

Logusz, Michael O. (1997): Galicia Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943–1945. Atglen, Schiffer Publishing.

Marolt, Jože (1993): Šercerjeva brigada na Štajerskem. Maribor, Obzorja.

Melnyk, Michael J. (2002): To Battle: The Formation and History of the 14. Galician SS Volunteer Division. Solihull, Helion.

Milenković, Toma & Momčilo Pavlović (2006): Beloemigracija u Jugoslaviji 1918–1941. Beograd, Institut za savremenu istoriju.

Mueggenberg, Brent (2020): The Cossack Struggle Against Communism, 1917–1945. Jefferson, NC, McFarland.

Munoz, Antonio J. (1999): For Czar and Country: A History of the Russian Guard Corps, 1941–1945. Bayside, Axis Europa Books.

Munoz, Antonio J. (2000): The Druzhina SS Brigade: A History, 1941–1943. New York, Axis Europa Books.

Neulen, Hans Werner (1992): An deutscher Seite: Internationale Freiwillige von Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS. München, Universitas Verlag.

Newland, Samuel J. (1991): Cossacks in the German Army, 1941–1945. London, Frank Cass and Company.

Otto, Reinhard, Keller, Rolf & Jens Nagel (2008): Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschen Gewahrsam 1941–1945. Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 56, 4, 557–602.

Pavlin, Mile (1970): Petnajsta brigada. Ljubljana: Odbor 15. Brigade, Partizanska knjiga.

Perovšek, Jurij (2015): Odpoklic wranglovcev iz obmejne službe in njegov odmev na Slovenskem leta 1922. Monitor ISH, XVII/1, 7–20.

Petelin, Stanko (1983): Gradnikova brigada. Ljubljana, Borec in Naša obramba.

Pilko, Nadežda S. (2004): Sovetskie graždane v rjadah Narodno-osoboditel′noj armii Slovenii. In: I. V. Čurkina (ed): Professor Sergej Aleksandrovič Nikitin i ego istoričeskaja škola. Moskva, Institut slavjanovedenija RAN, 431–439.

Pulko, Radovan (2004): Ruski emigranti na Slovenskem 1921–1941. Logatec, Vojni muzej Logatec.

Pulko, Radovan (2009): Ruski emigranti – udeleženci NOB narodov Jugoslavije. Vojnozgodovinski zbornik, 37, 59–61.

Robinson, Paul (2002): The White Russian Army in Exile 1920–1941. Oxford, University Press.

Rossa, Rosanna (2007): Venti cammelli sul Tagliamento: l'avventura cosacca in Friuli dal 1944 al 1945. Udine, Instituto friulano per la storia del movimento di liverazione.

Rossi, Marina (2014): Soldati dell'Armata rossa al confine orientale 1941–1945. Con il diario inedito di Grigoij Ziljaev. Gorizia, LEG.

Samcevič, Andrej A. (2015): Rusi i Ukrajinci u oružanim snagama Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 1941.–1945. Zagreb, Despot Infinitus.

Samcevič, Andrej A. (2017): Policejskij batal′on fon Semenova – «Obrazcovaja čast′» russkih fol′ksdojče. Vojnoistorijski glasnik, 1, 137–155.

Samcevič, Andrej A. (2019): Marš smerti Russkogo ohrannogo korpusa. Moskva, Jauza.

Schlögel, Karl von (ed.) (1994): Der große Exodus: Die Russische Emigration und ihre Zentren, 1917 bis 1941. München, C. H. Beck.

Smrke, Franc & Slavko Dokl (1989): Suha krajina v ognju. Novo mesto, Dolenjski muzej.

Stadler, Harald, Kofler, Martin & Karl Christoph Berger (2005): Flucht in die Hoffnungslosigkeit: Die Kosaken in Osttirol. Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen, Studeinverlag.

Stefanutti, Pieri (1995): Novocerkassk e dintorni: l'occupazione cosacca della Valle del Lago (ottobre 1944 – aprile 1945). Udine, Instituto Friulano per la storia del movimento di liverazione: Coordinamento dei circoli culturali della Carnia.

Stojanovič, Risto (2006): Nepozabni maj 1945 na Koroškem. Ravne na Koroškem, Medobčinski svet ZZB NOB – Območno združenje Dravograd in Območno združenje Radlje ob Dravi.

Streit, Christian (1997): Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945. Bonn, Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf.

Strik-Strikfeldt, Wilfried (1970): Gegen Stalin und Hitler: General Wlassow und die russische Freiheitsbewegung. Mainz, Hase & Koehler.

Strle, Franci (1976): Veliki finale na Koroškem. Ljubljana, samozaložba.

Strle, Franci (1995): Tomšičeva brigada: 4: 1944. Maribor, Obzorja.

Thorwald, Jürgen (1974): Die Illusion: Rotarmisten in Hitlers Heeren. Zürich: Droemer Knaur.

Timofeev, Alexey (2014): Splintered Wind: Russians and the Second World War in Yugoslavia. Moscow, Modest Kolerov.

Timofejev, Aleksej J. (2010): Rusi i drugi svetski rat u Jugoslaviji. Uticaj SSSR-a i ruskih emigranata na događaje u Jugoslaviji 1941–1945. Beograd, Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije.

Tišler, Janko & Jože Rovšek (1995): Mauthausen na Ljubelju. Koncentracijsko taborišče na slovensko-avstrijski meji. Celovec/Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, Slovenska prosvetna zveza in Mladinska knjiga.

Tolstoy, Nikolai (1979): Victims of Yalta. London, Transworld Publishers.

Verardo, Fabio (2010): I cosacchi di Krasnov in Carnia. Udine, Aviani & Aviani.

Verardo, Fabio (2016): 'Offesa all'onore della donna': le violenze sessuali durante l'occupatione cosacco-caucasica della Carnia 1944–1945. Trieste, Instituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli Venezia Giulia.

Vertepov, Dmitrij P. (1963): Russkij Korpus: Na Balkanah vo vremja II velikoj vojni 1941–1945 g.g. N′ju Iork, Naši Vesti.

Vuga, Francesco (1961): La zona libera di Carnia e l'occupazione cosacca. Luglio – ottobre 1944. Udine, Del Bianco.

Wedekind, Michael (2003): Nationalsozialistische Besatzungs- und Annexionspolitik in Norditalien 1943 bis 1945. München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag.

Wilhelmsmeyer, Helmut (1995): Der Krieg in Italien 1943–1945. Graz, Stuttgart, Leopold Stocker Verlag.

Zaharov, Viktor V. & Sergej A. Koluntaev (1998): Russkaja emigratsiia v antisovetskom, antistalinskom dviženii (1930–e — 1945 gg.). Materiali po istorii Russkogo Osvoboditel′nogo Dviženija. Sbornik statej, dokumentov i vospominanij. Moskva, Arhiv ROA.

Zolotarev, Vladimir A., Pogokij, Ja. F. & A. P. Belozer (eds.) (1998a): Russkaja voennaja èmigracija 20–h — 40–h godov. Dokumenti i materiali. Tom l. Tak načinalos′ izrnan′e 1920–1922 p. Kvita pervaja. Moskva, Institut voeinoj istorii ministerstva oboroni RF.

Zolotarev, Vladimir A., Pogokij, Ja. F. & A. P. Belozer (eds.) (1998b): Russkaja voennaja èmigracija 20–h — 40–h godov. Dokumenti i materiali. Tom l. Tak načinalos′ izrnan′e 1920–1922 p. Kvita vtoraja. Moskva, Institut voeinoj istorii ministerstva oboroni RF.

Zolotarev, Vladimir A., Pogokij, Ja. F. & A. P. Belozer (eds.) (2001): Russkaja voennaja èmigracija 20–h — 40–h godov. Dokumenti i materiali. Tom 2. Nesbyvšiesja nadeždy ... 1923 g. Moskva, Institut voeinoj istorii ministerstva oboroni RF.

Zolotarev, Vladimir A., Pogokij, Ja. F. & A. P. Belozer (eds.) (2002): Russkaja voennaja èmigracija 20–h — 40–h godov. Dokumenti i materiali. Tom 3. Vozvraŝenie ... 1921–1924 gg. Moskva, Institut voeinoj istorii ministerstva oboroni RF.

Zupanc, Ciril (1976): Partizanska bolnišnica na Srednjem. Jadranski koledar. Trst, Založništvo tržaškega tiska, 143–156.

Zupanc, Ciril (2007): Mihajlo, obveščevalec in diverzant IX. Korpus. Nova Gorica, Goriški muzej.

Žnidarič, Marjan (2009): Na krilih junaštva in tovarištva: Pregled zgodovine XIV. Divizije. Ljubljana, Društvo piscev zgodovine NOB Slovenije.

Žukov, Dmitrij A. & Ivan I. Kovtun (2009): 29-ja grenaderskaja divizija SS “Kaminskij”. Moskva, Veče.

Žukov, Dmitrij A. & Ivan I. Kovtun (2012a): RNNA. Vrag v sovetskoj forme. Moskva, Veče.

Žukov, Dmitrij A. & Ivan I. Kovtun (2012b): 1-ja Russkaja brigada SS „Družina“. Moskva, Veče.

Žukov, Dmitrij A. & Ivan I. Kovtun (2013): Ohotniki za partizanami. Brigada Dirlevangera. Moskva, Veče.

Žukov, Dmitrij A. & Ivan I. Kovtun (2013): Russkie èsèsovci. Moskva, Veče.

Received: 2022-01-27 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.22

GRADITI PARTIZANSKI SPOMIN V SOCIALISTIČNI JUGOSLAVIJI: SLOVENSKI PRIMER V ČASU PO DRUGI SVETOVNI VOJNI

Borut KLABJAN
Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper, Inštitut za zgodovinske študije,
Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija
e-mail: borut.klabjan@zrs-kp.si

IZVLEČEK

Raziskava postavlja pod vprašaj odnos do partizanske spomeniške dediščine, ki se prikazuje predvsem z gigantskimi skulpturami, zgrajenimi na območju večjih bitk ali masakrov na območju bivše Jugoslavije. To so bili veliki državni projekti v rokah najpomembnejših umetnikov, a so le del razvejane in raznolike spomeniške paradigme povezave z narodnoosvobodilno borbo. Z analizo spomenikov, ki so nastali neposredno po drugi svetovni vojni in v naslednjih nekaj letih, je, nasprotno, mogoče ugotoviti, da spomeniki NOB niso bili (samo) državni projekti, temveč večstranska dejavnost, ki kaže na dinamičen odnos med civilno družbo in državnimi institucijami. Na tak način se tudi podoba domnevno pasivne družbe, ujete v primež spominskega monopola socialističnega državnega aparata in ideologije, pokaže v drugačni luči.

Ključne besede: spomeniki NOB, spomin, Slovenija, Jugoslavija, druga svetovna vojna, partizani

COSTRUIRE LA MEMORIA PARTIGIANA NELLA JUGOSLAVIA SOCIALISTA: IL CASO SLOVENO DOPO LA SECONDA GUERRA MONDIALE

SINTESI

L'analisi mette in discussione l'odierna rappresentazione del retaggio monumentale della guerra di liberazione in Jugoslavia, che viene spesso illustrata attraverso giganteschi complessi memoriali e che, oltre ad essere capolavori modernistici, sarebbero la prova di un'imposizione della memoria da parte del regime socialista. Al contrario, ricostruendo invece le vicende dell'erezione di monumenti a livello locale nel primo decennio postbellico, si riscopre un attivismo memoriale da parte della società civile, che non sempre coincide con i progetti e le visioni delle autorità statali. In questo modo il quadro di una società jugoslava vittima inerme e prigioniera dei dettami dell'ideologia socialista si dimostra errato e le relazioni tra Stato e società dinamiche e frastagliate.

Parole chiave: monumenti, lotta di liberazione, Slovenia, Jugoslavia, seconda guerra mondiale, partigiani

UVOD[1]

Nedavno mednarodno zanimanje za oblikovanje prostora v socialistični Jugoslaviji se verjetno najbolje zrcali v razstavi *Toward a Concrete Utopia*, ki jo je newyorški muzej sodobne umetnosti MoMa posvetil jugoslovanski arhitekturi med letoma 1948 in 1980.[2] Čeprav je bila pričujoča razstava globalno najbolj prepoznavna, ni bila edini dogodek, ki je prispeval k popularizaciji jugoslovanskega grajenega okolja; o beograjskem hotelu Jugoslavija je izšel istoimenski film, spomladi leta 2021, ko ta članek nastaja, pa je v rimskem muzeju sodobne umetnosti MAXXI še na ogled razstava 54 »jugoslovanskih« umetnikov.[3] Novinar Aleks Eror je za spletni magazin *The Calvert Journal*, glas fundacije Calvert 22, zapisal, da je trenutna fascinacija odvisna od podobe, ki jo jugoslovanski model ponuja sodobnemu svetu. Predstavlja namreč za zahodno levico konkreten dokaz, da so alternativne možnosti neoliberalizmu mogoče in uresničljive. Projektiranje, ki ni bilo strogo vezano na utesnjujoče paradigme sovjetskega ideološkega modela, hkrati pa ni bilo odvisno od zavez omejujočega kapitalističnega tržišča, govori o viziji, ki se je lahko izražala in razvila v socialistični Jugoslaviji.[4] Pogled o Jugoslaviji kot posebnosti ni od danes in so ga uveljavili že sodobniki, vzporedno s takratnim političnim dogajanjem: akademski kipar Dušan Džamonija je ob prejemu prestižne Rembrandtove nagrade leta 1977 obravnaval Jugoslavijo kot vmesni prostor v blokovski delitvi sveta, kjer je bilo edino mogoče razviti tak tip arhitekture, kar je bilo v skladu z mednarodno politiko države in njenim pozicioniranjem v mednarodnem okviru hladne vojne (Horvatinčić, 2018, 105).

Džamonija je bil avtor nekaterih izmed vidnejših spomeniških projektov v spomin na narodno-osvobodilno borbo in na drugo svetovno vojno nasploh vzdolž jugoslovanskega Balkana. Prav spomeniki so še posebej v ospredju današnjega zanimanja za jugoslovanski prostor. Nastala je celo spletna baza podatkov, ki v angleščini zbira in opisuje te *Spomeniks*, kot jih je imenoval avtor seznama, Donald Niebyl. Niebyl je medtem izdal tudi knjigo z več kot osemdesetimi modernističnimi primeri pomnikov jugoslovanske narodnoosvobodilne borbe.[5] A že pred njim je

---

1 Članek je rezultat dela na projektu J6-1800 *Jadranske socialne države. Socialne politike v transnacionalni obmejni pokrajini od sredine 19. do 21. stoletja* in v okviru programske skupine P6-0272 *Sredozemlje in Slovenija*. Oba financira Agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS).

2 Katalog, ki je izšel ob razstavi, vključuje eseje številnih strokovnjakov, predvsem s področja arhitekture, prostorskega planiranja in umetnostne zgodovine. Bolj specifično se z vprašanjem spomina na drugo svetovno vojno in vprašanjem, kako se ta materializira v jugoslovanskem prostoru, ukvarjata eseja Sanje Horvatinčić in Matthewa Worsnicka (Stierli & Kulić, 2018).

3 Film *Hotel Jugoslavija* švicarskega režiserja Nicolasa Wagnièresa je iz leta 2017, medtem ko je kuratorka rimske razstave z naslovom *Bigger than Myself. Heroic Voices from ex-Yugoslavia* bivša vodja ljubljanske moderne galerije Zdenka Badovinac in je bila na ogled v času od 5. maja do 12. septembra 2021.

4 Aleks Eror, What's behind the recent craze for Yugoslavia's modern architecture? 4 June 2019, *The Calvert Journal*, https://www.calvertjournal.com/features/show/11192/yugoslav-architectures-big-year (zadnji dostop: 2021-06-11).

5 https://www.spomenikdatabase.org/ (Niebyl, 2018).

besedo spomenik s podobnim namenom uporabil belgijski fotograf Jan Kempenaers, ki je tako poimenoval svojo prvo osebno razstavo leta 2013 v Breese Little Gallery v Londonu. Ob tisti priliki je britanski novinar Joshua Surtees v časopisu *The Guardian* jugoslovanske spomenike opisal kot »bizarne arhitekturne ‚kolajne na podeželju', ki jih je posadil Tito«.[6]

Navedeni primeri govorijo o povečanem zanimanju za jugoslovansko izkušnjo, ki so jo vojne iz devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja zaznamovale z binarnim opisovanjem atavističnih etničnih nasprotij in inherentnega nasilja. Ponovno odkrivanje drugačnih pogledov na jugoslovansko preteklost pa je privedlo do povečanega zanimanja za njeno kulturno dediščino v najširšem pomenu. A navedeni narativni okviri in pristopi ustvarjajo mestoma enolično podobo, v kateri naj bi bilo postavljanje spomenikov padlim partizanskim borcem, talcem ali žrtvam druge svetovne vojne izključno državni projekt; in to socialistični državni projekt. Taka obravnava implicitno ustvarja vtis o enosmernem uresničevanju monolitne državne ideologije v smeri od zgoraj navzdol, ki jo nemalokrat podkrepijo primeri gigantskih spomeniških konstrukcij v Jasenovcu, v Kruševu ali Podgariću, kar pa predstavlja parcialen pogled na raznoliko paleto komemorativnih izkušenj v socialistični Jugoslaviji. Kot opozarja Heike Karge, pa je bilo spominjanje na drugo svetovno vojno veliko bolj dinamičen proces od tistega, ki nam ga kažejo taki primeri (Karge, 2009; Karge, 2014). Z upoštevanjem časovnega okvira, ki pod drobnogled postavi predvsem prva povojna leta in analizira zlasti primere manjših, manj znanih spomeniških projektov, ki so po navadi lokalnega značaja, se nam pokaže bolj razvejana slika od spomeniške krajine, posejane z »bizarnimi Titovimi kolajnami«. Pri tem vprašanju ne gre samo za znanstveno preciznost, temveč za razumevanje samega odnosa med državljanom in državo v socialistični Jugoslaviji, saj so raznolike oblike memorializacije zrcalo in hkrati hvaležna opazovalnica širšega družbenega utripa. Pokaže se namreč, kako so v mnogih primerih ljudje samostojno definirali komemorativne prakse znotraj okvirov, ki jih je določal uradni državni narativ. Ni nujno, da so bili ti z njim v nasprotju. To niti ne bi bilo mogoče. A primer Jasenovca, ki ga je izpostavila Kargova, jasno pokaže, kako civilna iniciativa ni samo čakala na odločitve, ki jih bodo sprejeli vodilni državni uradi, temveč je razvila svoje oblike razumevanja preteklosti (Karge, 2009, 58).

Pričujoči esej obravnava slovenski primer, s posebnim zanimanjem za primorski prostor, ki je bil v prvih povojnih letih predmet mednarodnega dogovarjanja glede lastne državne pripadnosti. Na nekatera vprašanja sem skušal odgovoriti že v drugem članku (Klabjan, 2017). Tokrat sem želel, na podlagi virov iz Arhiva Republike Slovenije, predvsem arhivskega fonda Zveze združenja borcev NOB, Arhiva Odseka za zgodovino in narodopisje Narodne in študijske knjižnice v

6 Podnaslov spomenike definira kot »bizarre architectural ‚medals in the countryside' planted by Tito«. Surtees, J., Spomeniks: the second world war memorials that look like alien art. *The Guardian, 18 June 2013*, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/photography-blog/2013/jun/18/spomeniks-war-monuments--former-yugoslavia-photography (zadnji dostop: 2021-06-12).

Trstu, Diplomatskega arhiva Ministrstva za zunanje zadeve Republike Srbije, ki hrani gradivo zunanjega ministrstva socialistične Jugoslavije, in Arhiva Jugoslavije, v katerem je shranjen fond jugoslovanskega združenja borcev SUBNOR, ter časopisnega in spominskega gradiva, opozoriti na raznolik povojni proces grajenja spomenikov in spomina. Nelida Silič-Nemec je že pred štirimi desetletji pokazala na razširjenost samoiniciativnih postavitev spominskih znamenj, od grajenja spomenikov do postavljanja preprostih plošč z imeni padlih. Njih se je prijela definicija »ljudski« spomeniki, ker so bili izraz in rezultat »spontane volje ljudskih množic« (Silič-Nemec, 1982, 22). Gal Kirn trdi, da je bilo takih, »ljudskih« spomenikov v prvem desetletju po vojni celo 80 % vseh spomenikov NOB (Kirn, 2014, 316). Periodizacija, ki jo ponuja, da se je šele v sredini petdesetih let pričela bolj sistematična monumentalizacija predvsem pod nadzorom Zveze borcev, se sklada z viri in dosedanjimi raziskavami, ki so pokazale, kako je v prvih petdesetih letih državni in partijski aparat prevzel komemoriranje vojne v svoje roke. To, da je na čelu državnega urada stal notranji minister Aleksandar Ranković, govori o pomenu, ki ga je vprašanje imelo za sam državni vrh (Manojlović Pintar, 2014, 151–152). Oblastnikom je bilo že tedaj jasno, da spomeniki kljub spreminjajoči se sporočilnosti sicer res komemorirajo padle, a hkrati nagovarjajo žive (Koselleck, 2002, 287). V obmejnem prostoru Primorske, za katerega so se po končanih vojaških operacijah kresala mnenja o njegovi državni pripadnosti, je bila spomeniška govorica povezana z bojem za prostor in z nasprotujočimi si spomini (Ballinger, 2003; Širok, 2012).

Kaj namerava torej novega ponuditi pričujoča študija? Prvič, s preučevanjem posameznih lokalnih primerov, kot sta med drugim za Liko storila Mila Dragojević in Vjeran Pavlaković (2016), želi opozoriti na raznolikost spomeniške krajine v širšem jugoslovanskem prostoru, tudi na območju, kot je Tržaška, ki ni pripadlo Jugoslaviji, a je bilo z njo vseskozi prepleteno, in, drugič, poudariti, kako je bil ta »ljudski« spominski aktivizem vse prej kot linearen in neproblematičen proces.

GRAJENJE PARTIZANSKE ZMAGE

Jugoslovansko drugo svetovno vojno, ki se je za državo neposredno pričela z invazijo nemških, italijanskih, madžarskih in bolgarskih vojsk aprila 1941, je kot malo kje drugje zaznamovalo vojno nasilje. Cela območja državnega ozemlja so bila popolnoma opustošena in infrastruktura v razsulu, človeških žrtev pa ni bilo nič manj kot milijon in sto tisoč, kar je predstavljalo približno 5,8 % celotnega prebivalstva. Za primerjavo je mogoče navesti, da je imela Francija približno 358.000 (0,85 %), Grčija 620.000 (6 %), Poljska 6.000.000 (20 %) in Sovjetska zveza 20.300.000 (13 %) žrtev. V Jugoslaviji je bilo največje število žrtev v Bosni in Hercegovini, približno 328.000 (več kot 10 % takratnega prebivalstva), v Črni gori 37.000 (približno 8 %), na Hrvaškem 295.000 (več kot 7 %), v Vojvodini 73.000 (več kot 5 %), v Srbiji 303.000 (več kot 4 %), na Kosovu 24.000 (več kot

3 %) in v Makedoniji 24.000 (okrog 2 %). V Sloveniji, ki je v času vojne štela 1.492.000 prebivalcev, je skoraj 100.000 žrtev predstavljalo 6,7 % prebivalstva (Borak & Fischer, 2005, 790–791).

Maja 1945, ko se je vojna na evropskih tleh bolj ali manj povsod končala, je bila Jugoslavija politično in gospodarsko v razsulu, njeno prebivalstvo pa postavljeno pred raznolike oblike osebnega in kolektivnega žalovanja, ki se je prepletalo z uradno potrebo po premoščanju vojnih grozot in nujo grajenja nove družbe. Kot je opozoril Tony Judt, so evropske države krivdo za bedo in razdejanje pripisale »Nemcem« (Judt, 2002, 160); a to ne velja za vse države v enaki meri, saj novo jugoslovansko vodstvo ni skrivalo nasilja, ki so ga povzročili domači sodelavci okupatorskih vojsk. Na eni strani je to pripomoglo k diskreditaciji potencialnih ali realnih političnih nasprotnikov, na drugi pa je služilo k legitimaciji nove družbe in novih ljudi, ki so izšli iz zmagovite partizanske vojne. Tako je partizanski boj pomenil štartno točko socialistične Jugoslavije in hkrati del uradnega ideološkega palimpsesta, ki je vzdrževal oblast komunistične partije (Kirn, 2012, 270).

Ta ideološki palimpsest je v marsičem slonel na spominu na drugo svetovno vojno in na zmagovitem partizanskem boju. Pierre Nora je že pred desetletji opozoril, kako se pri oblikovanju krajev spomina prepletajo materialne in nematerialne prvine (Nora, 1989). Zato se je spomin v prostoru kazal z zastavami in slikami vodilnih mož, poimenovanjem novih ulic po padlih junakih ali po dosežkih novih oblasti (npr. Ulica agrarne reforme), napisi na hišah in drugih javnih zgradbah in nemalokrat s komemorativnimi obredi, ki so spremljali pomembne obletnice. K temu je spadalo tudi postavljanje spominskih plošč ali spomenikov, ki so spremljali pokope padlih borcev ali so se posthumno zgradili ločeno od njih. Primerov je nešteto in se med seboj nemalokrat razlikujejo; v nekaterih krajih so se pomniki, ki so spominjali na padle, začeli postavljati takoj po končani vojni, drugod je to trajalo dlje. Asimetrija je zadevala tudi predmet spominjanja: borci in »aktivni« člani partizanskega boja so včasih imeli prednost pred, na primer, umrlimi v taboriščih, za katere se je, v nekaterih primerih, dejansko izvedelo šele dolgo po končanih bojih, ali žrtvami neselektivnega bombardiranja. Vprašanje je razvejano in bi zahtevalo večplastno obravnavo; pričujoči članek se omejuje na spominski angažma in ugotavljanje vloge, ki jo je pri spomeniških pobudah imela tako imenovana civilna družba. Ta vloga je še posebej izrazita, če fokus analize usmerimo v prva povojna leta, ko so bile družine padlih partizanov, vaške skupnosti, bivši borci in njihovi podporniki glavni pobudniki komemoracij. Svojci so zahtevali primeren pokop svojih družinskih članov, bivši partizani pa so organizirali pogrebne svečanosti in imena padlih soborcev vklesali v plošče ali na spomenike. Državni organi so pri tem sodelovali od samega začetka in želeli usmerjati ter regulirati fenomen, a še zdaleč niso bili edini akter in v marsikaterem primeru niti ne najmočnejši. Večkrat je namreč prišlo do nesporazumov, nestrinjanj, prerekanj in dolgotrajnih zamer: včasih so borci sami pokopali mrtve tovariše, drugič so za to poskrbeli domačini nekega kraja, tretjič pa morebiti posameznik, ker so trupla ležala na njegovem zemljišču ali iz kateregakoli

drugega razloga. Po navadi so bili taki primeri v krajih, kjer so se vršile bitke, in nemalokrat niso poskrbeli za identifikacijo žrtev, temveč so trupla položili v skupna grobišča. Temu so oblasti nasprotovale: trdile so, da je treba čim bolj ugoditi željam družin in do padlih gojiti spoštljiv odnos. Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve je že 6. junija 1945 opozorilo na številne primere neoznačenih grobov, ki so se nahajali sredi gozdov in polj, ter izdalo potrebna navodila: grobove je bilo treba označiti, začasno zavarovati in nato, v sodelovanju s svojci, trupla pokopati tam, kjer si to želijo družine. Vsi nastali stroški so bili v breme oblasti, ne družin. Vsi postopki so morali biti v skladu z zdravstvenimi predpisi, medtem ko so bili narodnoosvobodilni odbori dolžni spremljati celoten postopek iz organizacijskih razlogov, a tudi zato, da »dajo čim svečanejši značaj, ker je to splošni narodni dolg proti padlim tovarišem«.[7] V praksi pa se je izkazalo, da so bila navodila nemalokrat le lepe želje. Zdravstvenih predpisov ni bilo mogoče vedno spoštovati in tudi postopek za kritje stroškov je bil zamuden in negotov, poleg tega pa ukvarjanje z birokratskimi predpisi, ki so bili povezani s takimi postopki, ni upošteval bolečine prizadetih svojcev in je marsikoga odvrnil od celotnega komemorativnega procesa. Nemalokrat je to privedlo do dolgotrajnih zamer, ki niso zaznamovale samo »teksture spomina«, kot je temu rekel James Young, temveč so hkrati prizadele teksturo medsebojnih odnosov in vsakdan preprostih ljudi, predvsem v manjših vaških okoljih (Young, 1993).

Ob grajenju novega spomina je bilo treba hkrati postopati proti spomenikom in drugim znamenjem, ki so jih v vojnem času postavile okupatorske oblasti ali domače kolaboracionistične enote. Minister za notranje zadeve Zoran Polič je 12. junija 1945 opozoril, da je zvezno notranje ministrstvo že 18. maja izdalo nalog, v katerem je ukazalo, da je treba z njimi ravnati tako, kot so okupatorji in njihovi sodelavci ravnali s partizanskimi grobovi. Zato morajo narodnoosvobodilni odbori »ukreniti vse potrebno, da se takoj odstranijo /zravnajo z zemljo/ vsa pokopališča kakor tudi posamezni grobovi okupatorjev in domačih izdajalcev in tako izbriše vsaka sled za njimi«.[8] Nasprotno pa je bilo treba grobovom padlih partizanov posvetiti vso potrebno nego, »da bodo resnično postali spomeniki hvaležnosti našim največjim junakom«.[9] Oblasti so se zavedale, da to ne bo enostavno in niti brez potencialno nasprotnih političnih posledic; zato so zaupali narodnoosvobodilnim odborom, naj »ljudstvu« razložijo, zakaj je treba odstraniti okupatorske in izdajalske sledi, ter jim naročili, naj jih obvestijo o odmevih, ki so jih taki ukrepi sprožili. A ukrepi niso dosegli želenih učinkov, tako da je moralo jugoslovansko notranje ministrstvo leto kasneje ukaz ponoviti. V skladu z njim je slovensko notranje ministrstvo narodnoosvobodilnim odborom velelo ustrezno ukrepati, saj v marsikaterem primeru, tako je trdil pomočnik ministra Boris Kocijančič, »vidimo, da svojci izdajalcev z vso vnemo krasijo njihove grobove in hočejo s tem manifestirati njihovo izdajalsko

7 AS, 1931 RSNZ SRS, t. e. 1493, fasc. 17, dok. 332/3, 6. 6. 1945.
8 AS, 1931 RSNZ SRS, t. e. 1493, fasc. 18, dok. 334/45, 12. 6. 1945.
9 AS, 1931 RSNZ SRS, t. e. 1493, fasc. 18, dok. 334/45, 12. 6. 1945.

pripadnost in svojo reakcionarno mišljenje«. Ne glede na to, ali je bil namen svojcev padlih nasprotnikov novih komunističnih oblasti samo polagati rože na grob ali tudi poslati jasno politično sporočilo, dejstvo je, da vprašanje ni bilo enostavno. Kljub navidezni enostavnosti ukaza, to je zravnati z zemljo okupatorjeve grobove, je oblasti vsekakor skrbelo, kako se bo »ljudstvo« odzvalo. Število padlih med protipartizanskimi enotami še zdaleč ni bilo primerljivo s številom partizanov, talcev in drugih žrtev, ki so umrli za posledicami okupatorskega nasilja, saj je bilo teh neprimerno več (Čepič, Guštin, Troha, 2017, 430–436). Vsekakor je bilo število grobišč tolikšno, da njihovo uničenje ne bi šlo mimo neopazno. Oblasti so se bale, da bi »gotovi krogi« s pozivanjem na »pieteto in humanost« ukrep izkoristile ter želele »prevariti ljudstvo in ustvariti med njimi nerazpoloženje do ljudskih oblasti«.[10] Zato je bilo treba operacijo skrbno politično pripraviti in ukrepe podpreti s pojasnili o pravičnosti takega početja:

> *Ljudstvu je potrebno prikazati, kako so okupator in domači izdajalci prenašali svoje žrtve v mesta in večje postojanke in jih tam pokopavali z velikimi častmi, med tem ko leže tisoči borcev, ki so padli za svobodo, razkropljeni po gozdovih, travnikih in jarkih brez vsakega znamenja in brez vsakega napisa, da so streljani talci zmetani v skupne jame, za katere se ne ve, kje so, in da je bilo na tisoče internirancev sežganih v tujini v krematorijih in njih pepel raztresen po njivah kot gnojilo.*[11]

S tako razlago so nameravale oblasti v »ljudstvu« vzbuditi občutek groze in skrajne nepravičnosti, ki bi opravičeval navidezno nehumano početje odstranjevanja sovražnikovih grobišč. Hkrati pa je bilo tako nesorazmerje ne samo nepravično do vseh žrtev, ki so jih okupatorji in njihovi sodelavci povzročili, ampak, če bi se nadaljevalo, tudi nevarno za destabilizacijo družbe, ki si želi pustiti boleče poglavje vojne za sabo.

»Družine teh junakov zaman iščejo njih grobove, da bi jih obiskovali in krasili. Pred očmi teh prizadetih družin pa se bohotijo grobovi izdajalcev, ki jih neprestano spominjajo na morilce njihovih sinov, bratov, sester in staršev in na drugi strani senčijo polet našega ljudstva, ki hoče obračunati z vsem starim in izgraditi novo«.[12]

Odstranitev sovražnikovega materialnega spomina ni bilo torej samo stvar pravičnosti; bil je tudi predpogoj za nov začetek, ki ni mogel steči, dokler se starih krivic ne popravi. Tako so bili večinoma odstranjeni spomeniki in obeležja, ki jih je dala postaviti okupatorska administracija v času vojne, in tista, ki so jih postavile domobranske enote ali take, ki so sodelovale z okupatorskimi vojskami. V primeru večjih grobnic ali kostnic so posamezni okrajni odbori poskrbeli za odstranitev

10 AS, 1931 RSNZ SRS, t. e. 1493, fasc. 20, dok. 626/46, 14. 8. 1946.

11 AS, 1931 RSNZ SRS, t. e. 1493, fasc. 20, dok. 626/46, 14. 8. 1946.

12 AS, 1931 RSNZ SRS, t. e. 1493, fasc. 20, dok. 626/46, 14. 8. 1946.

ideoloških emblemov in političnih znakov, a ostalo pustili nedotaknjeno; tako se je na primer zgodilo na osrednjem pokopališču v Mariboru, kjer je bilo pokopanih 342 nemških vojakov in 58 pripadnikov enot tako imenovanega »Vermanšafta«, enote, ki je bila vključena v nemško vojsko. Tudi grobnica italijanskih vojakov iz prve svetovne vojne, ki so jo fašistične oblasti dale zgraditi nad Kobaridom, ni bila poškodovana, z razliko od nekaterih drugih pomnikov, ki so jih Italijani postavili na Primorskem v času po prvi svetovni vojni in ki so bili nato odstranjeni. Na manjših lokacijah, ko je šlo za grobove posameznikov, pa zgleda, da so bili posegi bolj koreniti. Na območju Rakeka je sneg preprečil, da bi umaknili »fašistične grobove« v Rovtah in Hotedršici, v drugih vaseh tistega okraja pa so bili odstranjeni. Predvsem na območjih, kjer je bilo število domobrancev večje, je odstranitev njihovih obeležij še dodatno razklalo lokalno družbeno tkivo.[13] Koliko je bilo takih primerov, ni predmet pričujoče študije; primarno zanimanje ostaja vpogled v oblike lokalnega spominskega aktivizma na primeru novih spomenikov narodnoosvobodilni vojni.

PRIMORSKI POVOJNI SPOMENIKI

Borci, ki so se vrnili na svoje domove, lokalni aktivisti OF, družine padlih in pogrešanih ter simpatizerji osvobodilnega gibanja so takoj po končanih bojih začeli postavljati spomenike in spominske plošče. Na Komenščini, kot domačini pravijo kraju na Trsteniku nad Trstom, so jo postavili trem borcem, ki so padli na predvečer osvoboditve že mesec po njihovi smrti, 30. maja 1945 (Novak, Pahor, 1978, 88). Delavski odbori, katerih člani so aktivno sodelovali v odporniškem gibanju, so jih postavili v tovarnah od Milj, prek Trsta do Tržiča, organizacije naslednice OF pa po številnih primorskih vaseh: Rodik (1945), Dolina (1946), Trebče (1946), Lonjer (1946), Strunjan (1946), Kontovel (1947) in Boljunec (1947) so samo nekateri izmed primorskih krajev, ki so v prvih povojnih letih dobili svoj spomenik.

Tolikšne vneme ni bilo mogoče spregledati in je ni bilo (več) mogoče prepustiti samo lokalnim odborom in njihovim sodelavcem. Zato je v sklopu Slovenske prosvetne zveze (kasneje, od leta 1947, po razmejitvi s pariške mirovne konference in ustanovitvi Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja, je postala Slovensko-hrvaška prosvetna zveza), organizacije naslednice OF, nastala umetnostno-likovna komisija strokovnjakov, ki je nadzorovala, svetovala, načrtovala in na sploh usmerjala delo posameznih spomeniških akcij. Vodil jo je slikar Lojze Spacal, poleg njega pa so ekipo sestavljali še arhitekta Fran (ali Franjo) Kosovel in Dušan Vasič ter kipar Duilio Svara (ali Švara). Vsi štirje so bili Tržačani, komisija je imela svoj sedež v Trstu, a delovala tako, da je obiskovala primorske kraje in nadzorovala postavitev spomenikov NOB.

13 »Kar je bilo ljudstva, usmerjenega za naš pokret, je bilo zadovoljno, ostalo prebivalstvo oziroma simpatizerji be-ga, pa so bili ogorčeni in ne zadovoljni« (AS, 1931 RSNZ SRS, t. e. 1493, fasc. 22, dokument št. 54/1, 24. januarja 1947). Z izrazom »be-ga« avtor pojmuje belo gardo oziroma protipartizanske formacije, ki so sodelovale z okupatorjevo vojsko.



Slika 1: Spominsko obeležje na Trsteniku nad Trstom, postavljeno 30. maja 1945 (Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice, Fond NOB, Spomeniki, Trstenik).

Prvo pot na teren je komisija namreč opravila 24. septembra 1946 in ko je ob 8. uri zjutraj prispela v Trebče, naseljem nad Trstom, med Opčinami in Bazovico, je začudeno ugotovila, da je bil spomenik že skoraj postavljen. Iz dopisa je mogoče razbrati nejevoljo članov komisije, ker se domači odbor ni držal navodil, ki jim jih je poslal arhitekt Kosovel. Štirje strokovnjaki so v poročilu napisali, da »napake niso samo v proporcijah celotnega podstavka in raznih drugih delih, ampak tudi v vporabljanju nam tujih materijalov […]«.[14] S tem je komisija imela v mislih rdeče cementne kamne in uporabo mozaika za tlakovanje. Trebenci so namreč tla okrog spomenika tlakovali tako, da so okrog njega narisali veliko rdečo zvezdo.

Trebenski spomenik domačim padlim v NOB je dejansko eden izmed prvih na Tržaškem, saj so ga odkrili v nedeljo, 29. septembra 1946. Primorski dnevnik je izpostavil lik mladega domačina Romana Malalana, partizana, ki je tri leta prej umrl na ta dan, a spomenik je bil postavljen tudi vsem drugim domačim padlim.[15] Nastal je na pobudo domačinov in vaščani so bili tudi tisti, ki so ga postavili, tako da je imel izrazit lokalni značaj; in čeprav se je odbor obrnil na strokovno komisijo zato, da bi jim pripravila primeren načrt, vaščani niso sledili strokovnim smernicam arhitekta Kosovela in spomenik zgradili po svoje.

Komisija je na svoji poti nadaljevala pot do Opčin, kjer je vse do prvih majskih dni leta 1945 potekala ena izmed hujših bitk za osvoboditev Trsta, tako da je bilo padlih na obeh straneh več desetin, med nemškimi vojaki celo več stotin. Če so njihova trupla prenesli v bližnjo jamo v Bršljanovci, padle ruskega bataljona, ki so se borili s partizani, pa so tovariši kar sami pokopali v skupnem grobišču ob cesti za bližnji Repen, so partizane in padle jugoslovanske vojake pokopali na openskem pokopališču (Gorup, 1986, 31). A ob prihodu komisije, ki je imela namen preveriti skladnost načrtov, ki jih je pripravil kamnosek iz sosednjega Proseka, s prostorom na pokopališču, so ugotovili, da bi ne bili primerni, saj bi spomenik v taki obliki, kot so si ga zamislili, skoraj v celoti prekril pogled na druge grobove. Dobiti je bilo treba kompromis in spremeniti prvotni načrt.

Openski primer je prevzel arhitekt Kosovel, a kaj, ko so si na drugem srečanju, 9. oktobra 1946, openski odborniki premislili in spomenik prenesli pred vaško šolo. Še več dela je imela komisija s sosednjim Repentabrom potem, ko jih je domačin Alfonz Ravbar zaprosil za odobritev spomeniškega načrta.[16] Najprimernejše okolje za spomenik padlim se je domačinom zdel prostor pred cerkvijo. Komisija pa je na licu mesta ugotovila nasprotno in predlagala dve drugi lokaciji. Da bi se uskladili, so 15. oktobra zvečer sklicali veliko ljudsko zborovanje, na katerem je Kosovel pojasnil načrt in predloge, a med prisotnimi ni bilo mogoče najti soglasja, tako da se je bilo treba poslužiti glasovanja, na katerem je z dvotretjinsko večino prevladala opcija, ki

14 OZE NŠK, fond Komisija za postavitev spomenikov NOB, I. potovanje umetniške komisije za postavljanje spomenikov padlim borcem, 24. 9. 1946. Dokument nima zaporedne številke in ni jasno, ali se datacija nanaša na dan obiska na terenu ali pa na dan sestave dokumenta.

15 *Primorski dnevnik*, 29. 9. 1946, 2, Danes bodo odkrili spomenik padlim borcem v Trebčah.

16 OZE NŠK, fond Komisija za postavitev spomenikov NOB, Pismo Zveze primorskih partizanov iz Trsta Lojzetu Spacalu, št. 1979/46, 3. 10. 1946.



Slika 2: Spomenik na vaškem trgu v Trebčah (Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice, Fond NOB, Spomeniki, Trebče).

se je zavzemala za spomenik na Okroglem vrhu zraven vasi.[17] Tam je nastal skupni spomenik organizacij iz Repna, Repniča, Vogelj in Cola. J. Z., ki je opisal projekt, je trdil, da bo »visoka piramida na izrazitem, samostojnem griču […] vidna tudi bolj oddaljenemu, doljnemu Krasu in celo z morja, enako kot repentaborska cerkev«.[18]

Da bi se v prihodnje izognili posameznim iniciativam, je Slovenska prosvetna zveza Kosovela prosila, naj za *Vestnik*, glasilo, ki ga je izdajala Zveza, pripravi navodila, kako ravnati s spomeniki. Izvoda, ki naj bi izšel 16. oktobra 1946, mi ni uspelo dobiti, a namen naročnika je bil jasen:

»Prosimo Te, da odkrito poveš, kako morajo postopati odbori, da bomo dobili umetnine, ki bodo v skladu z najosnovnejšimi zahtevami arhitekture.«[19]

Komisija je v naslednjih mesecih obiskala še mnogo krajev, od Špetra ob Soči in Medane do Renč, Koprive in Pliskovice, ter mnogim drugim pregledala in odobrila načrte, od Anhovega do Breginja in Gropade.

A kot v prejšnjih primerih so še marsikje nastale težave: na nesoglasja zaradi neustrezne lokacije ali zaradi neprimernega načrta je komisija naletela vsaj še v Orleku, Boljuncu, Križu, Mačkoljah in v Svinem pri Kobaridu, kjer so se pritoževali, da iz obljub o pomoči glede načrtovanja spomenika ni bilo nič; ker so denar zanj že nabrali in so se bali, da mu bo kupna moč hitro padla, so grozili, da bodo spomenik zgradili kar sami.[20]

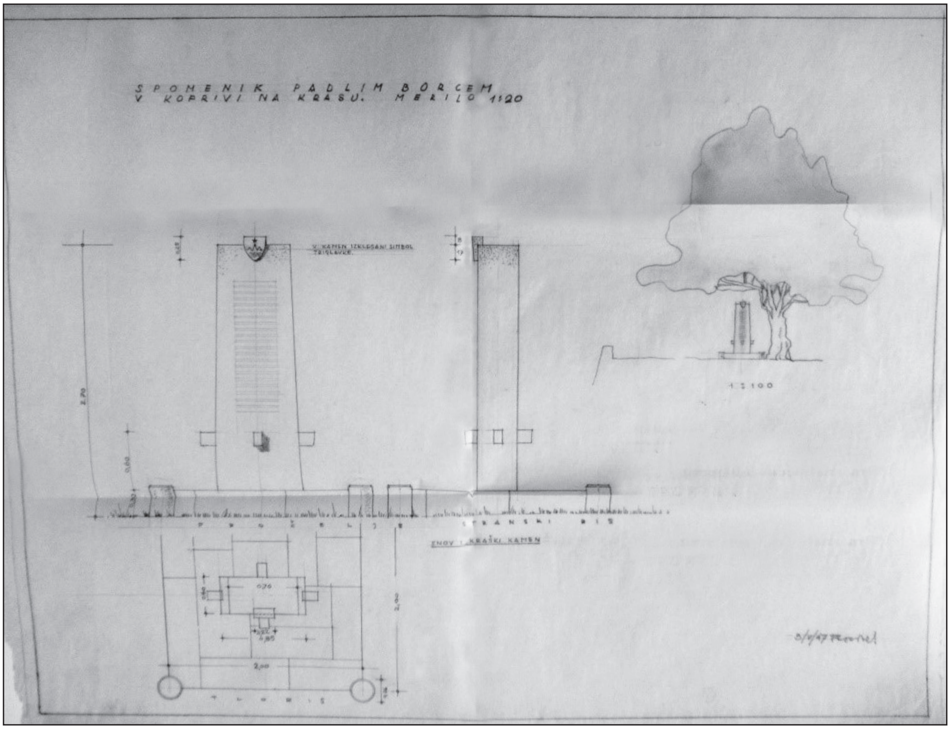
Čeprav se je morala partizanska vojska junija 1945 umakniti iz osvobojenega Trsta za črto, ki so jo Jugoslovani dogovorili z zahodnimi zavezniki, in upravo v zahodni, tako imenovani coni A Julijske krajine prepustiti Britancem in Američanom, so manjši kraji izven dveh glavnih primorskih urbanih središč, Trsta in Gorice, z bolj ali manj večinskim slovenskim prebivalstvom, dokaj strnjeno ohranjali podporo političnim naslednikom osvobodilnega gibanja. Poleg tega je v prvem povojnem obdobju širša in heterogena antifašistična koalicija še vedno zdržala pritisk hladne vojne. Kot je razvidno iz komemoracije bazoviških žrtev ob pravkar postavljenem spomeniku na gmajni, kjer so jih ustrelili septembra 1930, so ob petnajsti obletnici smrti stali z ramo ob rami slovenski in italijanski antifašisti različnih političnih prepričanj, a tudi najvišji predstavniki britanskih in ameriških sil (Dato, 2010). Preprost spomenik so na kraj ustrelitve postavili poleti 1945, na podoben način, kot so jih v naslednjih mesecih in letih postavili v okoliških vaseh. Spomenik je bil po navadi iz kamna iz kakega bližnjega kamnoloma, od koder so ga domačini na vozu pripeljali v središče vasi ali pa na kraj ustrelitve oziroma bitke, kjer so nato nameravali postaviti spominsko znamenje. Za druga dela so poskrbeli domači kamnoseki, zidarji, tesarji in domačini, vešči takega

17 OZE NŠK, fond Komisija za postavitev spomenikov NOB, Sestanek na Repentabru za določitev mesta spomeniku padlim borcem, 15. 10. 1946.

18 OZE NŠK, fond Komisija za postavitev spomenikov NOB, Spomenik padlim v narodnoosvobodilni borbi v okolišu Repentabra. Dokument ni datiran, a iz vsebine je razvidno, da je nastal po sprejetju načrta in pred njegovo realizacijo.

19 AS 1579, a. e. 423, dok. 844/4, 1. 10. 1946.

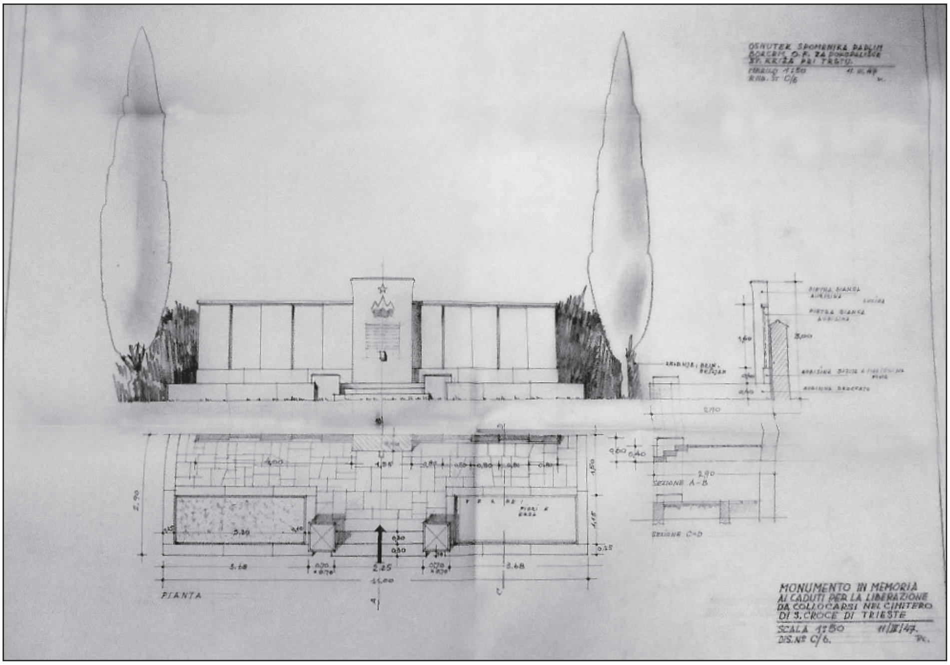
20 OZE NŠK, fond Komisija za postavitev spomenikov NOB, Pismo Okrajne prosvetne komisije za Kobariško Lojzetu Spacalu, referentu za umetnost pri PNOO v Trstu, dok. 12/47, 7. 1. 1947.



Slika 3: Načrt spomenika padlim v NOB v Koprivi na Krasu (Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice, Zapuščina Franja Kosovela, Načrti za spomenike).

dela, denar pa so pobudniki zbirali s prostovoljnimi prispevki od vrat do vrat, na veselicah, kulturnih prireditvah, koncertih ali igrah na srečo: organizirali so javne tombole in nabrani znesek uporabili za gradnjo spomenika. Plačati je bilo treba gradbeni material in tudi delo raznih mojstrov ter strokovnjakov ni bilo vedno zastonj; skica spomenika je bila sicer brezplačna, a za podrobnejšo študijo je bilo treba arhitekta plačati in strošek je bil po navadi v breme spomeniškega odbora. Redkokdaj je v takih primerih šlo za individualni projekt: pobudniki so želeli vanj vključiti čim večje število posameznikov in organizacij zato, da bi si razdelili stroške, a tudi zato, da bi pokazali na vsesplošno podporo, ki jo je posamezen kraj namenil narodnoosvobodilnemu boju.

V prvih povojnih mesecih so spominske svečanosti nemalokrat potekale ob pokopih in prekopih padlih borcev. Dogodek je mogoče brati na več ravneh, saj se je žalost svojcev prepletala z družbeno-politično dimenzijo smrti posameznika ali posameznice. Prekop mladega partizana ni bil (samo) intimna in boleča izkušnja matere in očeta, ki sta, na primer, izgubila sina, temveč tudi operacija osmišljanja smrti; uokviriti jo je bilo treba v boj za boljši svet in izgubo pojmovati kot



Slika 4: Načrt spomenika padlim v NOB na vaškem pokopališču v Križu pri Trstu (Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice, Zapuščina Franja Kosovela, Načrti za spomenike).

žrtvovanje v imenu živečih (Mosse, 2007). Na Primorskem, območju, ki je bil po razpadu habsburške monarhije vse do druge svetovne vojne del Italije, po vojni pa jabolko spora med Italijo in Jugoslavijo, so imeli spomeniki in spominske svečanosti še dodatno funkcijo, ki se je prepletala z nejasno sliko državne pripadnosti. Postavitev spomenika je poleg spoštljive oddolžitve padlim pomenila markacijo v prostoru, ki je imela namen pokazati lokalnemu in mednarodnemu okolju, kdo se je tu boril proti nacifašizmu in torej kdo si lahko upravičeno lasti sporno ozemlje. Sodelovanje na spominskem obredu padlega partizana je skratka postopoma postalo jasno politično dejanje in dejansko podpora jugoslovanskim teritorialnim aspiracijam. A ni šlo samo za propagandno kalkulacijo. Tudi potem, ko je bilo jasno, da bo Trst pripadel Italiji, in prav zaradi tega, da nova italijanska uprava ne bi izbrisala sledi o jugoslovanskih žrtvah, so se v Beogradu zavzeli za finansiranje odkupa zemljišča grobov borcev Jugoslovanske armade na Tržaškem, njihovo ureditev in vzdrževanje.[21]

21 DASSIP, Politićka arhiva, Trst, 1953, škatla 93, fascikel Vojna groblja, dosje o tem vprašanju vsebuje več dokumentov in ima zaporedno številko 417310.

Medtem je široka in raznolika protifašistična koalicija, ki je izhajala iz vojne izkušnje, razpadla pod težo hladne vojne. Še več: po sporu znotraj komunističnega tabora, najmočnejšega na levici, je delitev med podpornike Tita na eni in Stalina na drugi strani še dodatno razdelila protifašiste. Če je bilo nestrinjanje z jugoslovansko izbiro v Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji na sploh lahko hudo kaznovano, je možnost izbire na tistem območju, ki je leta 1947 prešel v meje Italije (Gorica z okolico itd.) ali pa je bil vključen v cono A Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja (Trst z okolico), povzročila hude travme. Razkol med Stalinom in Titom na mednarodni ravni je na lokalnem nivoju razdelil bivše borce, tovariše, prijatelje in družine, kar se kaže tudi v dejstvu, da se v teh krajih dotedanje intenzivno postavljanje pomnikov skoraj popolnoma prekine.

SLOVENIJA, MOJA (PARTIZANSKA) DEŽELA

Od julija 1948 dalje, kot drugod v Jugoslaviji, nadzor nad gradnjo spomenikov postopoma prevzame novoustanovljena Zveza borcev narodnoosvobodilne vojske Slovenije. Čeprav je bilo vključevanje bivših borcev v Zvezo vse prej kot avtomatično in masovno, je njeno slovensko vodstvo poročalo glavnemu odboru v Beograd, da za gradnjo, urejanje, obnovo in vzdrževanje spomenikov in spominskih plošč vlada v Sloveniji »ogromno zanimanje«.[22] In res je leta 1961 Slovenija imela največje število spomenikov med vsemi jugoslovanskimi republikami, 4035 (Bergholz, 2006,79–80).[23] Zvezi je pri tem pomagalo tudi vodstvo Zavoda za zaščito kulturnih spomenikov, vendar je delo večinoma potekalo v režiji bivših partizanov. A tudi v tem primeru bi bilo zgrešeno misliti, da se je ta partizanska pokrajina razvijala linearno in enovito.

Večkrat je na enem in istem mestu gradnja spomenikov potekala v več fazah. Nemalokrat je bil na območju bitk postavljen spomenik padlim skromen in brez estetske vrednosti, vendar ga je v naslednjih letih nadomestil večji spomenik, kot je bil primer obeležja Pohorskemu bataljonu. Najprej je bilo leta 1949 v središču nekdanjega bataljonskega taborišča na planoti blizu Treh žebljev, nedaleč od Velikega vrha, postavljeno manjše obeležje, ki ga je leta 1958 zamenjal večji spomenik. Medtem ko je bil prvi pomnik skromen, se je za novejše spominsko prizorišče ZB NOV Maribor poslužila arhitekta Branka Kocmuta, skulpture pa je zasnoval akademski kipar Slavko Tihec (Filipčič, 1978, 1–2).

V gradnjo spomenikov narodnoosvobodilnemu boju so bili vključeni najpomembnejši arhitekti. S študijami je najslavnejši izmed njih, Jože Plečnik, pričel že ob koncu vojne in v naslednjih letih dobil precej naročil, tako da je kot avtor ali soavtor podpisan pod mnogimi spomeniki narodnoosvobodilnemu boju (NOB) na Slovenskem: v Dolenji vasi (1950), v Laškem (1951), Litiji (1951), Novem mestu

22 AJ 297, fascikel 27, dok. 23-5/49, 7. 10. 1949.

23 Za primerjavo so jih takrat v Bosni in Hercegovini našteli 3574, na Hrvaškem 2940, v Srbiji 2866, v Črni gori 712 in v Makedoniji 275 (prim. Jakir, 2019, 156).

(1951), Ljubljani (1951), Vipavi (1952), Mežici (1952) in drugod, njegovi sodelavci pa, kot na primer Anton Bitenc, so s sorodnimi oblikovnimi prijemi nadaljevali tudi po njegovi smrti (Krečič, 1975).[24]

Iz borčevskega arhivskega gradiva izhaja, da kljub naporom zveze, ki je nameravala s strokovnim pristopom urediti povojno partizansko *statuomanijo*, ta proces discipliniranja ni bil niti enostaven niti enovit. Stanje se razlikuje od kraja do kraja in za razumevanje širše slike je treba preučiti vsako posamezno okolje: od tam, ne pa iz centralnega vodstva, je namreč še vedno prihajala večina pobud. Gospa Antonija je 4. januarja 1951 tako pisala glavnemu odboru ZB NOV Slovenije:

> *Pred par dnevi sem bila v Laškem na okrajnem odboru ZB, kjer so mi povedali, da nameravata priti dva inženirja na ogled radi spomenikov. Prosila bi, če bi ju poslali tudi v Kostanjevico, ker bi tudi mi radi rešili to zadevo ozir. za postavitev spomenika. Minulo je že 7 let, odkar so padli talci in tudi razni borci* […].[25]

Malo kasneje se je v Kostanjevici oblikoval odbor, v katerem so bile zastopane »vse množične organizacije« in ki se je nato obrnil na zgodovinsko sekcijo Zveze borcev. Ta je posameznim lokalnim odborom najprej svetovala, naj se izognejo projektiranju v lastni režiji, kot se je večkrat dogajalo v prvih povojnih letih. »Osnutek za spomenik naj po možnosti napravi strokovnjak – arhitekt.« Če tega ni bilo na voljo, ga je dobila komisija. Po navadi je to bil »tov. prof. ing. arh. Plečnik«, ki je imel skorajda monopol nad načrti spomenikov v tistem obdobju. Osnutke je pregledala zgodovinska komisija, nato pa je sledila realizacija. Največkrat so lokalni odbori z zamislimi o postavitvi spomenika zelo hiteli. Želeli so jih postaviti ob pomembnih obletnicah, kot na primer ob deseti obletnici ustanovitve Osvobodilne fronte (OF) aprila 1941, z idejami pa so prišli na dan le nekaj mesecev prej. Tako je bilo časa za ustrezno pripravo malo in nemalokrat je komisija zavrnila predloge lokalnih odborov v lastni režiji. Po navadi je bil razlog v nedovršeni estetiki ali v uporabi neprimernih materialov, včasih pa v vsebinski neskladnosti s sporočilnostjo, ki naj bi jo izražal spomenik narodnoosvobodilnemu boju. Borcem v Slovenski Bistrici so sporočili, da načrt ni bil sprejet, ker »je neprimeren in tuj našim nacionalnim občutkom«. Zato so bistriško Zvezo borcev povezali s kiparjem Lojzetom Lavričem, ki je izdelal končni načrt.[26] Spomenik so odkrili 29. novembra 1952. Načrt spomenika, ki so ga nameravali postaviti borci s Pragerskega, je bil zavrnjen, ker je bil »sličen spomenikom, ki so jih postavljali fašisti. Mi pa postavljamo spomenike borcem, ki so dali življenja proti fašizmu,«[27] so bili jasni pri zgodovinski sekciji zveze

24 Spomenik pri Dolenji vasi stoji pod Strpniškim hribom na Bukovškem polju in je posvečen 338 padlim borcem in žrtvam fašističnega nasilja iz Selške doline in devetnajstim talcem, ki so jih na tistem mestu ustrelili 14. julija 1943 (Krapež, 1986, 88).

25 AS 1238, škatla 9, dok. 54-1/51, 6. 1. 1951.

26 AS 1238, škatla 9, dok. 42-1/51, 2. 2. 1951.

27 AS 1238, škatla 20, dok. 306/1, 13. 6. 1952.

in niti prvotni mariborski načrt ni prepričal komisije, ki je bila mnenja, »da je tam postaviti primernejši in večji spomenik […]«.[28] Kot je pisal arhitekt in urbanist Marjan Tepina, takrat član revizijske komisije Glavnega odbora Zveze borcev, pozneje pa med drugim jugoslovanski generalni konzul v Trstu, je bilo za ustrezen spomenik NOB potrebno troje: »izbrati primerno velikost za spomenik, uporabiti ustrezno gradivo in gradbeno tehniko ter izbrati dobro lokacijo za spomenik«. Samo na tak način bodo lahko bodoče generacije razumele »veličino in vseljudski značaj narodnoosvobodilne borbe«: končni cilj tolikšnega napora je bil, da bo vsakemu spomeniku, ki bo služil temu namenu, »zagotovljena njegova stoletna obstojnost« (Tepina, 1956, 85).

A zmotno bi bilo misliti, da je bil odnos med okrajnimi odbori in zgodovinsko komisijo enostranski, tako da so prvi pasivno sprejemali odločitve Glavnega odbora Zveze borcev. Potem ko je komisija zavrnila skico odbora iz Logatca in načrt poverila arhitektu Plečniku, so odborniki v Logatcu zavrnili Plečnikov predlog. Iz korespondence, ohranjene v arhivu Zveze borcev, je razvidno, da to še zdaleč ni bil edini primer: Zveza borcev iz Šentpetra na Krasu (Pivka od leta 1952) je po »vsestranski presoji in pregledu po strokovni komisiji ter ocenitvi na masovnem sestanku članov Z. B.« prišla do zaključka, da osnutek načrta, ki ga je izdelal »tov. Plečnik iz Ljubljane«, ni primeren »za spomenik za naš kraj, kajti to bi bilo le primerno za kakšno večje mesto […]«.[29] Zato so nalogo poverili snovalcu notranjskega muzeja v Postojni in slikarju Leu Vilharju, »kateri nam bo načrt napravil po zamisli in formi, ki pristoja Krasu oziroma terenu in okolici, kjer bo postavljen. Nismo mogli pristati na osnutke tov. Plečnika, ker so isti preveč mogočno in bogato zamišljeni ter za našo skromno podeželje nikakor ne morajo postati izvršni.«[30]

Nestrinjanja okrog postavitve spomenika lahko beremo na več ravneh – na tem mestu velja opozoriti predvsem na to, da ni šlo samo za neprimernost terena. Zavračanje Plečnikovega predloga skriva za seboj mehanizme, ki nam omogočajo vpogled v oblike nestrinjanja lokalne skupnosti napram glavnemu odboru lastne organizacije in poseganju v prostor s strani »zunanjega« (iz Ljubljane) strokovnjaka. Ta naj bi bil nesposoben za razumevanje lokalnih razmer in njegov estetski smisel naj ne bi bil skladen s kraškim okoljem.

V resnici ni šlo za kraško okolje. Potem ko je glavni odbor Zveze borcev okrajnemu odboru iz Idrije zavrnil načrt, ki so ga sami izdelali za postavitev spomenika v Cerknem, in v zameno poslal Plečnikov predlog, se, podobno kot v prejšnjem primeru, tudi v Idriji z njim niso strinjali, češ da predlagana rešitev »ni primerna za teren, kjer se ima namen postaviti spomenik«. A tudi v tem primeru je mogoče podvomiti, da je bil edinole neprimeren teren glavni razlog za odklonitev. V nadaljevanju pisma se namreč jasno trdi, da »nobena

28 AS 1238, škatla 9, dok. 75-1/51, 3. 2. 1951.
29 AS 1238, škatla 9, dok. 3-I-51, 9. 1. 1951.
30 AS 1238, škatla 9, dok. 14/51, 21. 2. 1951.

organizacija se ni strinjala s tem načrtom […]« in zato, da »[…] bomo čimprej pričeli že z dolgo zavlačujočim delom, Vas prosimo, da upoštevate želje ljudi in organizacij našega kraja in nam na podlagi tega odobrite in priskočite na pomoč s potrebnimi sredstvi za gradnjo spomenika, kakršnega si želi ljudstvo našega kraja«.[31]

Lokalna sekcija je skratka vse prej kot pasivno spremljala načrtovanje spomenika in še zdaleč ni želela igrati podrejene vloge v odnosu do glavnega odbora. Prej obratno; celo grozili so jim, da bi, če se njihove želje ne bodo uresničile v najkrajšem času, to lahko »dovedlo do pasivizacije članstva Zveze Borcev v tem kraju«.[32] Lokalni akterji so skratka izsiljevali centralne organe in z grožnjami, da bo »prišlo do pasivizacije članstva« oziroma izstopov iz organizacije, vsilili svoj pogled in svojo odločitev.

Trenja so nastajala tudi za plačilo računov. Po navadi posamezni okrajni odbori niso razpolagali z ustreznimi finančnimi sredstvi in so za nadaljevanje ali dokončanje del praviloma zaprosili glavni odbor. Tako so v Planini pri Sevnici spomenik odkrili 16. 8. 1953, na dan občinskega praznika. Iz prošnje, ki so jo poslali glavnemu odboru, je mogoče izvedeti finančni razrez tamkajšnjega spomenika in podpornike njegove gradnje: lokalni borci so zbrali v lesu, ki so ga nato prodali za 250 tisoč dinarjev, 100 tisoč so zbrali kozjanski borci, ki so bili kasneje funkcionarji v Mariboru, okraj mesta Celje je dal 50 tisoč dinarjev, Sergej Kraigher 10 tisoč, DES Krško 5 tisoč, Gozdno gospodarstvo Brežice pa 10 tisoč, tako da so skupaj zbrali 425 tisoč dinarjev. Spomenik pa je z napisi in montažo franko Ljubljana stal 597.586 din, Zoranu Didek, ki je narisal načrt, pa so bili dolžni še 10 tisoč dinarjev, tako da so skupni stroški brez prevoza znašali 607 tisoč dinarjev. Do takrat so jih zbrali 425 tisoč in so glavni odbor spraševali za pomoč v višini 100 tisoč dinarjev.[33]

Kot je bilo v primeru spomenika v Šoštanju, so izvajalci del, v tem primeru Umetniška zadruga v Ljubljani, ki še niso dobili plačila, grozili, da bodo »prisiljeni predati zadevo oblastem […]«,[34] tako da je glavni odbor po navadi ugodil prošnjam. Sredstva pa niso bila vedno na voljo, tako da je glavni odbor Zveze borcev krajevnemu odboru v Doberniču odgovoril, da »vam ne moremo pomagati, pač pa si jih organizirajte sami«.[35] Včasih pa so neplačani računi privedli do medsebojnih tožb, ki so se, kot je bilo v primeru Kovorja pri Tržiču, končali na sodišču.[36] V teh okoliščinah so spori o estetiki spomenikov večkrat prešli v ozadje in komisija je nekatere načrte odobrila, tudi »če niso bili najboljši«.[37]

31 AS 1238, škatla 9, dok. 16/51, 10. 2. 1951.
32 AS 1238, škatla 9, dok. 121/51, 12. 3. 1951.
33 AS 1238, škatla 21, dok. 604 – I – 293, 25. 8. 1953.
34 AS 1238, škatla 21, dok. 56/53, 31. 10. 1953.
35 AS 1238, škatla 21, dok. 143-1/52, 12. 4. 1952.
36 AS 1238, škatla 30, dok. 535/1, 13. 1. 1954.
37 AS 1238, škatla 21, dok. 463/1, 5. 10. 1953.

SKLEP

Leta 1954 je Zveza borcev, da bi enkrat za vselej zatrla gradnjo »ljudskih« ali, kot so jim včasih pravili, »divjih« spomenikov, objavila pravilnik o graditvi spomenikov (Pravilnik, 1954, 121). Sklepati je mogoče torej, da je trajalo celo desetletje, preden so spomeniki NOB pridobili bolj institucionalizirano podobo, saj so se morale, kot nam govorijo obravnavani primeri, državne institucije, veteranske organizacije, kot je bila Zveza borcev, in partijske strukture večkrat pogajati za uveljavitev lastnih pogledov in se nato, nemalokrat v konfrontaciji z lokalnimi odbori, posamezniki, vaškimi skupnostmi in drugimi oblikami organiziranih skupnosti, prilagoditi njihovi volji. To govori ne samo o različnih centrih moči, ki so obstajali na državni in republiški ravni, kot sta med drugimi pokazala Karge (2014) in Jakir (2019), ampak tudi, da pri grajenju partizanskega spomina v povojni Jugoslaviji ni šlo enostavno za operacijo, ki bi jo pogojevala socialistična ideologija in enopartijski sistem, temveč za dinamičen odnos med raznimi akterji, med katerimi so civilna družba in posamezniki igrali pomembno vlogo. Še več: ne samo, da so si uspeli izoblikovati neko avtonomno spominsko držo znotraj dovoljenih uradnih spominskih gabaritov; na podlagi analiziranih primerov je videti, da je tudi v tem primeru šlo za kompromisno rešitev, pri kateri so morale državne strukture in njene organizacije sprejeti kompromis zato, da so lahko ljudske iniciative prikazale znotraj lastnih komemorativnih norm in ne obratno. Ni šlo za vprašanja, ki bi majala ideološke podlage države ali postavljala pod vprašaj smernice njene spominske politike; to je bilo v Jugoslaviji tistega časa nemogoče. A vsekakor so morale državne institucije v marsikaterem primeru v vsakodnevnem odnosu do lokalnih spominskih pobud sproti prilagoditi svoje odločitve zato, da zaradi spominskih nesoglasij ne bi izgubile na legitimnosti v odnosu do lastnih državljanov.

BUILDING PARTISAN MEMORY IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA: THE SLOVENE CASE AFTER WORLD WAR II

Borut KLABJAN

Science and Research Centre Koper, Institute for Historical Studies, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija

e-mail: borut.klabjan@zrs-kp.si

SUMMARY

The article analyses local practices of memory activism among Slovenes in the first decade after the Second World War. While in recent years Much of the scholarly work and popular production focuses on the officially sanctioned memory landscape taking for granted that monuments are installed by the Yugoslav government in a unilateral top-down direction, a more in-depth research shows how vernacular memory cultures produced several examples of bottom-up memory signs. Thus, Slovenia had in 1961 the highest number of partisan memorials in Yugoslavia: 4035. However, it would be misleading to think that this memory activism developed without disagreements. Even if, since 1948, when it was founded the Federation of Associations of Combatants, this umbrella organization was in charge for the control and the coordination of the construction of monuments to the fallen, local committees continued to have a primary role. The construction of memorials involved the cooperation of many individuals (architects, engineers, as well as intellectuals who wrote tombstone inscriptions) and companies (particularly construction companies) in an intermingling of private initiatives and public support, memory activism and socialist narratives, official remembrance and private mourning. Often local committees however, in contrast with the veteran's association and State institutions, imposed their view on the form and the content of the memorial site. These tensions invert the perspective of a civil society as a passive subject of decision making, dependent on and subjugated to the socialist regime and shows that local communities seek to define themselves and their memory in ways that might be at variance with desires of central offices.

Keywords: memorials, partisans, monuments, memory, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, World War II

VIRI IN LITERATURA

AJ 297 – Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), Savez Udruženja Boraca NOR-a – Savezni odbor (AJ 297).

AS 1238 – Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Republiški odbor Zveze združenj borcev NOV Slovenije 1947–1990 (AS 1238)

AS 1579 – Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Glavni odbor Slovensko-hrvaške prosvetne zveze Trst (AS 1579).

AS 1931 – Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve Socialistične republike Slovenije (AS 1931).

Ballinger, Pamela (2003): History in Exile. Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans. Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press.

Bergholz, Max (2006): Među rodoljubima, kupusom, svinjama i varvarima: Spomenici i grobovi NOR-a 1947-1965. godine. V: Kamberović, Husnija (ur.): 60 godina od završetka drugog svjetskog rata – kako se sjećati 1945. godine. Zbornik radova. Sarajevo, Institut za istoriju, 75–100.

Borak, Neven & Jasna Fischer (2005): Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848-1992. Zvezek I. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Čepič, Zdenko, Guštin, Damijan & Nevenka Troha (2017): Slovenija v vojni, 1941–1945. Ljubljana, Modrijan.

DASSIP – Diplomatski arhiv Saveznog sekretariata inostranih poslova.

Dato, Gaetano (2010): Le celebrazioni per gli eroi di Bazovica (1945–1948): alcuni risultati di una ricerca in corso. Acta Histriae 18, 3, 471–498.

Dragojević, Mila & Vjeran Pavlaković (2016): Local Memories of Wartime Violence: Commemorating World War Two in Gospić. Suvremene teme, VIII, 1, 66–87.

Filipčič, France (1978): Spomenik Pohorskemu bataljonu. Ljubljana, Komunist.

Gorup, Drago (1986): Bitka za Opčine. VZPI-ANPI, Opčine.

Horvatinčić, Sanja (2018): Memorial Sculpture and Architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia. V: Stierli, Martino & Vladimir Kulić (ur.): Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980. New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 104–111.

Jakir, Aleksandar (2019): »Spomenici su prošlost i budućnost.« Politički i administrativni mehanizmi financiranja spomenika za vrijeme socijalističke Jugoslavije. Časopis za suvremenu povijest, 51, 1, 151–182.

Judt, Tony (2002): The Past is another Country: Myth and Memory in Post-war Europe. V: Müller, Jan-Werner (ur.): Memory and power in post-war Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 157–183.

Karge, Heike (2009): Mediated Remembrance: Local Practices of Remembering the Second World War in Tito's Yugoslavia. European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire, 16, 1, 49–62.

Karge, Heike (2014): Sećanje u kamenu – okamenjeno sećanje? Beograd, Biblioteka XX vek.

Kirn, Gal (2012): Transformation of Memorial Sites in post-Yugoslav context. V: Šuber, Daniel & Slobodan Karamanić (ur.): Retracing Images. Visual Culture after Yugoslavia. Leiden, Brill, 251–281.

Kirn, Gal (2014): Transnationalism in Reverse: From Yugoslav to Post-Yugoslav Memorial Sites. V: De Cesari, Chiara & Ann Rigney (ur.): Transnational Memory. Circulation, Articulation, Scales. Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter, 313–338.

Klabjan, Borut (2017): »Our Victims Define Our Borders«: Commemorating Yugoslav Partisans in the Italo-Yugoslav Borderland. East European Politics and Societies and Cultures, 31, 2, 290–310.

Koselleck, Reinhart (2002): The Practice of Conceptual History. Timing History, Spacing Concepts. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Krapež, Stane (1986): Pomniki NOB na Škofjeloškem. Ljubljana, Borec.

Krečič, Peter (1975): Spomeniki NOB Jožeta Plečnika in njegove šole. V: Murko Matija (ur.) Spomeniki NOB Jožeta Plečnika in njegove šole. Katalog ob študijski razstavi. Ljubljana, Arhitekturni muzej, 3–5.

Manojlović Pintar, Olga (2014): Arheologija sećanja. Spomenici i identiteti u Srbiji, 1918–1989. Beograd, Udruženje za društvenu istoriju.

Mosse, George (2007): Le guerre mondiali. Dalla tragedia al mito dei caduti. Roma – Bari, Laterza.

Niebyl, Donald (2018): Spomenik Monument Database. London, FUEL.

Nora, Pierre (1989): Between Memory and History. Representations, 26, 7–24.

Novak, I., Pahor, M. (1978): O delovanju Osvobodilne fronte na področju Rojana. V: Rojan skozi čas po spominih, slikah in zgodovinskih virih. Trst, ZTT, 79–89.

OZE NŠK – Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice v Trstu, Komisija za postavitev spomenikov NOB.

Pravilnik (1954) – Pravilnik o graditvi spomenikov. Borec, 6, 3, 121–122.

Primorski dnevnik (PD) – Trst, 1945–.

Silič-Nemec, Nelida (1982): Javni spomeniki na Primorskem, 1945–1978. Koper, Trst, Nova Gorica, Lipa, ZTT, GM.

Stierli, Martino, Kulić, Vladimir (2018): Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980. New York, The Museum of Modern Art.

Širok, Kaja (2012): Kalejdoskop goriške preteklosti: zgodbe o spominu in pozabi. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Tepina, Marjan (1956): O trajnosti spomenikov, posvečenih narodnoosvobodilni borbi. Borec, 2, VIII, 85–87.

Young, James (1993): The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meanings. New Haven, London, Yale University Press.

Received: 2022-05-15 DOI 10.19233/AH.2022.23

"DANKE DEUTSCHLAND!": THE POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC CONTRIBUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO THE CREATION OF INDEPENDENT SLOVENIA

Boštjan UDOVIČ
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Centre of International Relations,
Kardeljeva ploščad 5, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: bostjan.udovic@fdv.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

The article analyses Slovenian–German relations, with a particular focus on the period between December 1990 and June 1991. The author takes a look at the positions that the Federal Republic of Germany assumed with regard to the plebiscite in Slovenia and recognition of Slovenian independence, as well as the circumstances (national and international) that led Germany to these positions. The article finds that as late as the spring of 1991 the official German policy was preserving the integrity of Yugoslavia, while it was already aware this might be an unrealistic wish. This is why it foresaw Slovenian and Croatian independence as one of the possibilities. When war in Slovenia broke out, Germany saw that Yugoslavia was gone, so it took a completely different stance than only weeks before. This was also reflected in its active engagement for swift international recognition of Slovenia and Croatia.

Keywords: Slovenia, Federal Republic of Germany, Slovenian–German relations, diplomacy, Slovenian independence

«DANKE DEUTSCHLAND!»: IL CONTRIBUTO POLITICO-DIPLOMATICO DELLA REPUBBLICA FEDERALE DI GERMANIA ALLA NASCITA DELLO STATO INDIPENDENTE DELLA SLOVENIA

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza i rapporti sloveno-tedeschi, con particolare attenzione al periodo dicembre 1990–giugno 1991. All'autore interessa quali atteggiamenti sono stati assunti dalla Repubblica Federale di Germania a proposito del plebiscito sloveno e del riconoscimento dell'indipendenza dello Stato sloveno, al contempo, quali sono state le circostanze (nazionali ed internazionali) che hanno incoraggiato la Germania ad assumere gli atteggiamenti che sono state messi in pratica. Il risultato della ricerca è che la politica ufficiale tedesca ha voluto, ancora nella primavera del 1991, mantenere la Jugoslavia come era, ma allo stesso tempo si rendeva conto che si trattava di un desiderio irrealizzabile. Perciò, come una delle opzioni, ha "aggiunto" la possibilità dell'indipendenza della Slovenia e

della Croazia. Quando è iniziata la guerra in Slovenia, la Germania ha constato che "la Jugoslavia non c'era più". Perciò ha adottato un atteggiamento completamente diverso rispetto a qualche settimana prima, fatto che si è rispecchiato anche nella sua attività per un riconoscimento internazionale veloce della Slovenia e della Croazia.

Parole chiave: Slovenia, Repubblica Federale Tedesca, relazioni sloveno-tedesche, diplomazia, l'indipendenza slovena

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

The aim of the article[1] is to analyse Slovenian–German relations in light of the diplomatic and political contribution of the Federal Republic of Germany (hereinafter BRD) to the creation of an independent Slovenian state. Although we also present the broader picture of 'Slovenian'–German relations, we will focus mainly on the period between December 1990 and June 1991—a pivotal time for the establishment of independent Slovenia. In this respect, we will take a look at how much the political, economic and cultural relations that Slovenia had built with the BRD already as part of Yugoslavia influenced the German position on Slovenia's struggle for independence.

People often publicly say (and believe) that Slovenian–German relations are excellent; however, they remain very poorly analysed in scientific and technical literature, particularly the last half a century, for which there is hardly any available analysis in Slovenia. The analyses that do exist mostly pertain to the 19th century,[2] the Slovenian national awakening and the aversive relations between ethnic Slovenes and Germans of the time. Slovenian literary corpus is full of references to this, including Ivan Cankar's parody of German courage: "O domovina bod' pr' mir, na Reni ahta kanonir" (Grdina, 2005);[3] Fran Levstik's epigram complaining that a new church movement is encouraging singing in German ("Novo petje ceciljansko, ni slovensko, je germansko; Šola razslovenja nas, Cerkev tujči petja glas!"; Levstik, 1884, 632; Bedina, 1994, 66). The most vivid illustration of the distancing of Slovenes from Germans may be the famous response of Anton Korošec, member of the Austrian parliament, to Emperor Charles I: "Majestät, es ist zu spat." (Bister, 1992, 258).[4] Symbolically, this statement meant a final break from the Slovenian–German relations as we had known them for almost a millennium.

---

1 The article is a result of the Research Programme "Slovenia and its Actors in International Relations and European integrations" (P5-0177), financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS). The author would like to thank Urška Lampe, Darko Darovec and the reviewers for their comments on the manuscript. The article would be poorer in materials and photos without the help of: Ambassador Boris Frlec, Marjan Sedmak, Alojz Peterle, Marjan Šiftar, Vladimira Rančov and Barbara Radovan.

2 For more on this, cf. Žigon & Kramberger (2014) and Samide & Žigon (2020).

3 "Oh homeland, be at ease, a cannoneer is keeping watch on the Rhein." It is Cankar's parody of the German patriotic anthem *Wacht am Rhein*.

4 "Your Majesty, it is too late."

Despite a symbolic break with the German nation (in the broadest sense) and the departure of Slovenes into another and different state in 1918, Slovenian–German relations continued, although in different form—through intensive economic cooperation.

Data on exports from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS, later renamed Yugoslavia) into German-speaking countries (Austria and Germany) show a dip in trade only in 1920, after which exports to Germany started growing dramatically. In 1925, the Kingdom of SCS exported 25% of its total exports to German-speaking countries (18.5% to Austria and 6.5% to Germany); in 1930, it exported 29% of its total exports there; and in 1938, just before WWII, the figure was at 42% (6% to Austria and 36% to Germany) (calculations based on Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1989, 297–301). The Second World War and German occupation of Slovenian territory broke Slovenian–German economic relations and subjected them to the interests of the Nazi war economy.[5]

Post-war time was extremely complex with respect to political and economic relations, since most things were arranged and determined by the Yugoslav federal authorities, and the individual states were left with relatively little space to pursue their own activities. Despite the complicated situation in Yugoslavia and West Germany, both countries quickly put their shoulders to the wheel of economic and political cooperation, which intensified after the *Cominform split* (1948). A CIA dispatch (2011, 2–3) states that Yugoslavia's exports to West Germany accounted for 1.7% of the total exports in 1948 and already 5.6% the next year. The dispatch adds:

> *The trade agreement concluded 31 March 1949 between West Germany and Yugoslavia contains lists of Yugoslav export and import.* […] *Amendments of 19 August 1949 change the lists of imports and exports and increase the amount of manipulative credits. A supplement to the Agreement of 31 March 1949 increases the scope of export and import and regulates the import of Yugoslav agricultural products.*

Not only in the economy, Yugoslavia and West Germany (BRD) also boosted their political relations soon after the Tito–Stalin split. On 13 June 1951, the BRD opened an economic mission in Belgrade, and on 6 July Yugoslavia did the same in Bonn. A week later, on 12 July 1951, Stane Pavlič, a Slovene, already submitted his credentials, becoming the first official Yugoslav envoy to the BRD. He was appointed to the rank of ambassador on 8 December 1951 (Brey, 1979, 634; Nećak, 2014, 704).[6] Pavlič was replaced in Bonn by a Croat, Mladen Iveković, followed by another Slovene, Dušan Kveder (Nećak, 2014, 704).

At this point it seemed the relations between the BRD and Yugoslavia would start to flourish since there were almost no more obstacles. Well, there was one—Yugoslavia's relationship to the German Democratic Republic (DDR).[7]

---

5 On the issues and challenges for the ethnic composition of Germans in Slovenia after 1945, cf. Ramšak (2010), Grafenauer (2014) and Moric (2021).

6 Nećak (2014, 704) warns that data about when Yugoslavia's mission in Germany was opened do not match. This can be attributed mainly to the lack of clear notes from the time, particularly due to the unclear status of the BRD in relation to the DDR (East Germany).

7 On relations with the DDR, cf. Rullman (1969).

Yugoslavia always avoided formal acknowledgement that there were two Germanies. This can be attributed in part to the fact that Yugoslavia expected capital injections from the West after its split with the Cominform, so recognising the DDR *de facto* or *de iure* could jeopardise Yugoslavia's survival. At the same time, any more intensive cooperation with the DDR in the time of the great break from the countries of the Eastern bloc could be interpreted in the international community as Yugoslavia giving in to pressure, and would have been used by the Soviet Union to its advantage. But the situation changed after 1954, and particularly after the adoption of the Belgrade (1955) and Moscow (1956) declarations of friendship and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. A fateful moment for German–Yugoslav relations was Tito's speech in Moscow on 19 June 1956, when he said: "Today, there are two states: the West and East Germany, and it would be wrong to ignore this fact. But it would also be wrong not to recognise the state organism that is East Germany" (Nećak, 1991, 162). Tito swept away with one swing everything that Yugoslavia had been building in its relations with the BDR for eight years. The reaction from Bonn was harsh. The Yugoslav ambassador was called for a talk, where he stressed that Yugoslavia's policy towards the BDR had not changed and that Tito only pointed to the international reality in Moscow. Tito himself gave the same assurance to the BRD's ambassador to Belgrade. But Yugoslavia's attempt at rekindling relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc took its toll. This became most evident in September 1957 when Tito explained in his meeting with Gomułka[8] that for Yugoslavia the border on the Neisse and Oder rivers was final, while reiterating the reality of two German states. The *Hallstein Doctrine* of 1955 could not prevent it, so Bonn went for swift action. On 18 October 1957, the BRD decided to break diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, with effect on the next day (Nećak, 1991, 155–166; Nećak, 2014, 703–711; Nećak, 2017, 111–123). For a decade, formal political relations between Yugoslavia (and therefore Slovenia) and the BRD came to a standstill, while economic relations developed with increasing speed—as if there were no political dispute (Nećak, 2013b).

The absence of political relations between the two countries on the highest level—Yugoslavia was represented in the BRD by Sweden and the BDR was represented in Belgrade by France—was not to the liking of either side, but both got tangled up in their own webs from which they could hardly come out as winners. The BRD could not give up the *Hallstein Doctrine*, because this would mean recognising the existence of two Germanies by way of facts, which the political elite in Bonn would not survive. And Yugoslavia counted on the BRD to give in first because it was the BRD that broke diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. The game of cat and mouse dragged on throughout the 1960s, all the while neither the BRD nor Yugoslavia in fact prohibited (despite a formal ban) the work of so-called *Gastarbeiters* (literally "guest workers") in the BRD, who sent foreign currencies to Yugoslavia. Conversely, Yugoslavia actively worked on luring German tourists to the Yugoslav coast, as they also brought in foreign currency, which was always in short supply in Yugoslavia.

Nećak (2013a, 123) points out that the situation was becoming increasingly intolerable as the gap between the economic and political interests grew, highlighting how both sides tried to find ways of overcoming this unbridgeable canyon of non-relations already

8 Władysław Gomułka was the leader of the Polish Communists and head of state between 1956 and 1970.

in the early 1960s. The first (formal) step in this direction was made by BRD leadership, who—despite the absence of diplomatic relations between the BRD and Yugoslavia—sent state secretary Rolf Lahr to Belgrade on a diplomatic reconnaissance mission a few days ahead of a formal visit by Walter Ulbricht[9] to Yugoslavia (19–20 September 1964). As part of this mission, Lahr met with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Marko Nikezić, who assured him that, despite attempts by the DDR, Yugoslavia would not raise the rank of its representation there, and would not allow the DDR to do so even if it should wish to. And so it was, but only for two years. A year after Ulbricht's visit to Belgrade, Tito returned the visit to the DDR. There—again for reasons unknown—Tito tightened the rhetoric in relation to the BRD, raising eyebrows in Bonn again. But they tried to let it go by. Of course, the Yugoslav side did not hold true to its word to the BRD's envoy, and raised the rank of the representations on both sides to embassies after another visit by Ulbricht to Belgrade in 1966 (Nećak, 2013a, 123–129). According to the *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,* which had been in force since 1964, this meant setting up symbolically[10] the highest and most important relations possible,[11] as well as a final implementation of a policy of two Germanies.

While the DDR was thrilled about this, Bonn was furious. That is why the relations between the BRD and Yugoslavia deteriorated somewhat again in 1966. A breath of fresh air between the countries came with the appointment of Willy Brandt as German foreign minister in 1967, as he engaged in a new *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy) that included a normalisation of relations[12] between the BRD and Yugoslavia. All of this is dealt with extensively by Hacke (2004), Bettzuege (1995), Brey (1979), Fink & Schaefer (2009), etc. What is important from the perspective of our analysis are the achievements of the German *Ostpolitik* between Yugoslavia and the BRD (cf. Nećak, 2013a; 2013b; 2017; Kosanović, 2009, 232–244). The first one is the speed of (re)opening embassies and appointing ambassadors on both sides. An important piece of information confirming the thesis of the BRD's significance for Slovenia and the historical attachment of Slovenia to the BRD is that the first Yugoslav ambassador there after the re-establishment of relations was again a Slovene, Rudi Čačinovič. He submitted his credentials on 4 September 1968 (Nećak, 2017, 118).[13] In just over a month, several agreements on *Gastarbeiters*

---

9 Walter Ulbricht was the head of the DDR Communist Party and after 1960 also DDR Chairman of the Council of State (prime minister).

10 On the importance of symbolism in diplomatic relations, cf. Arbeiter & Udovič (2017) and Arbeiter (2019).

11 According to Article 14 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961/1964), the heads of diplomatic missions in the rank of ambassadors submit their credentials to the head of state. In this specific case, this meant that Yugoslavia recognised the DDR's internal and external sovereignty.

12 It was clear to anyone who followed political developments at the time that normalisation of relations between the BRD and Yugoslavia would cause waves in the DDR. Nećak (2013a, 177–205) gives a detailed account of the activities of the DDR embassy in Belgrade and the numerous accusations going back and forth.

13 On the work of Yugoslav and Slovenian diplomacy between 1945 in 1991, cf. Ajlec (2017); Bajc (2014); Bogetić (2014); Bondžić (2014); Cvetković (2014); Čavoški (2014); Gonzáles-Villa (2017); Jenuš & Friš (2017); Petrović (2014); Pirjevec (2014; 2016); Radić (2014); Radojević (2014); Rahten (2013; 2014); Ramšak (2014; 2015; 2017; 2022); Repe (2017): Režek (2014a; 2017); Rupel (2013); Ruzicic-Kessler (2018); Selinić (2014); Stamova (2014); Udovič (2016; 2017; 2022); Udovič & Vojinović Jaćimović (2019); Zupančič (2016); Životić (2014).

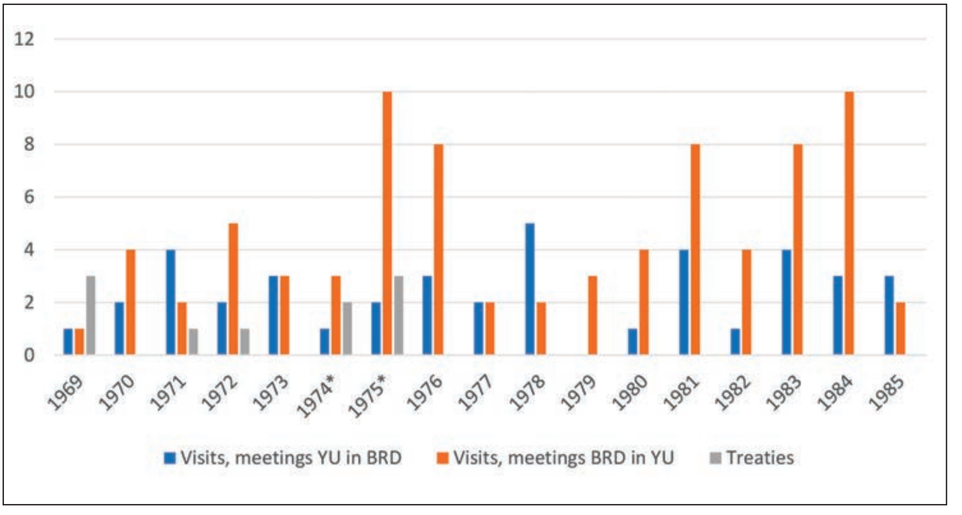


Fig. 1: Number of meetings and signed agreements between the BRD and Yugoslavia (YU) (Calculations based on AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37).

were concluded, legalising and structuring the previous silent practice of foreign workers between Yugoslavia and the BRD (for more on this, cf. Ilić, 2010, and AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37).[14] Of course, these were followed by agreements on economic cooperation, and in the 1970s agreements on cooperation between united labour organisations, and more. We should also highlight the flourishing political relations between Yugoslavia and the BRD. Data kept by the Archives of the Slovenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37) show that the political ties between Yugoslavia and the BRD became very vibrant after 1967. Representatives of Yugoslav federal and state authorities visited the BRD 41 times between 1969 and 1985, while representatives of West German federal and state authorities visited Yugoslavia 79 times in the same period. In the 17 years covered by the analysis in document AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37, the two countries signed a total of ten agreements on cooperation in different areas (Figure 1).

The years 1974 and 1975 on Figure 1 are marked with asterisks because they are important symbolic milestones. Between 24 and 27 June 1974, Tito made an official visit to the BRD, and between 3 and 5 November 1975, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Miloš

14 Ilić (2010, 21) quotes three agreements between Yugoslavia and Germany relating to foreign workers immediately after the normalisation of relations: (1) the Agreement between the governments of the SFRY and the BRD on the regulation of employment (12 October 1968); (2) the Agreement between the governments of the SFRY and the BRD on unemployment insurance (12 October 1968); (3) the Agreement between the governments of the SFRY and the BRD on abiding by the agreement on social security (9 November 1968). Document AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37 also adds an agreement on visa liberation between the BRD and Yugoslavia signed between 17 and 23 October. For more on agreements on workers, cf. Ivanović (2013); Portmann & Ruzicic-Kessler (2014) and Kapetanović (2022).



Fig. 2: Tito and Willy Brandt during Tito's official visit to Bonn on 11 October 1970 (Wikimedia Commons).

Minić was in Bonn. Document AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37 contains more relevant information for the context of the relationship between Slovenia and the BRD.

At political consultations in Bonn in 1971 (24–25 June), the Yugoslav side was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Anton Vratuša (a Slovene); at the end of the same year, Bogdan Osolnik (another Slovene) was in the BRD representing the Foreign Policy Committee of the federal parliament. Between 7 and 10 May 1972, Slovenian Executive Council President Stane Kavčič visited Bavaria and Bremen; Bonn got a visit from Boris Šnuderl (also Slovene). The 1970s also saw intensified relations with Bavaria, which is confirmed, among other things, by the Bavarian prime minister's visit to Slovenia and Croatia in late May 1976. President of the Slovenian Executive Council Andrej Marinc returned the visit in 1978. Things were quiet for a few years after that. In mid-August 1983, German federal Transport Minister Werner Dollinger stopped in Ljubljana for a courtesy visit on his way from a holiday. A year later, former Slovenian Executive Council President Janko Smole visited Bonn (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37).

Already this short outline of activities between the BRD and Yugoslavia (and Slovenian representatives in Yugoslav politics and diplomacy) shows that after diplomatic relations were re-established both countries put in great effort to deepen their bilateral ties, and not only on the federal level, but also on the level of republics (Yugoslavia) and

states (Germany). This was reflected in particular in the strongly increasing economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the BRD, which we could say was the engine of political and diplomatic activity between the two countries.

THE CONTOURS OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA, SLOVENIA AND THE BRD

As already underscored, the BRD was an important trade partner for Yugoslavia. This is also corroborated by an analysis of Yugoslavia's international trade relations conducted by Udovič (2022a), who found that, although fragmented, Yugoslav foreign trade after 1960 remained oriented mainly towards members of the European Economic Area (EEA) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). A study by the Federal Secretariate for Foreign Affairs (Zvezni sekretariat za zunanje zadeve, 1975) dated 18 February 1975 shows that Yugoslavia had a total of 480 business subjects (companies) active in the markets of Western countries at the start of 1975, 118 in the markets of developing countries and 277 in socialist countries, altogether 875. Out of these, most "real companies"—not merely offices of Yugoslav companies but actual foreign direct investments in different forms, as allowed under laws from 1972 and 1973—were in capitalist countries, that is 335. This means outgoing FDI was very important for Yugoslavia, but was (expectedly) oriented mainly towards competitive Western markets. Analysing the data in more detail, we can see that out of the total of 371 companies, 98 (26%) were in the BRD alone, followed by Italy and Austria. In 1975, BRD therefore hosted almost a third of all Yugoslav companies in foreign markets.

Figure 3 shows Slovenian dependence on export to the BRD. While the share of Slovenia's exports at the lowest point in the cooling of relations between Yugoslavia and the BRD and intensified relations with the DDR was roughly the same for the BRD and the DDR, the share of exports from Slovenia to the BRD started increasing dramatically soon after relations with the BRD started thawing. This is confirmed by data of the Slovenian Chamber of Commerce (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/39), where analysts say that the BRD was the second biggest foreign trade partner with respect to Slovenian exports (20% of all Slovenian exports went to the BRD), and the biggest when it comes to imports (27% of all imports to Slovenia came from the BRD). The same document states that the top 5 importers from the BRD in 1989 were the companies Gorenje, Iskra, TAM, Kemija and IMV, while the top 5 exporters to the BRD were Iskra, Gorenje, TAM, Slovenijapapir and Tovarna usnja Slovenj Gradec.[15] An interesting observation with respect to the placement of Yugoslav—and therefore also Slovenian—exports on the BRD market was made by the Slovenian Chamber of Commerce, which said a big problem in "selling Yugoslav goods are inappropriate organisation of marketing, low persistence in the traditional fight for winning

15 Slovenian exports to the BRD accounted for 36–40% of all Yugoslav exports, and Slovenian imports from the BRD accounted for 24–30% of the Yugoslav total (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/39).

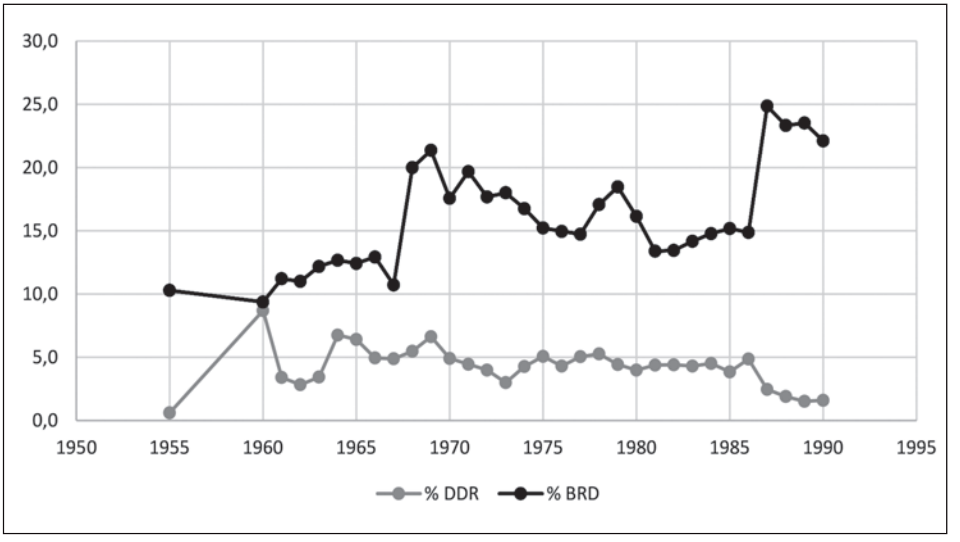


Fig. 3: Exports to the BRD and DDR as % of all exports from Slovenia (Own calculations based on data of the Statistics Office, 1960–1991).

and keeping a market share, design, appropriate adaptations in the equipment and packaging, as well as monitoring the changing tastes of consumers" (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/39). This evaluation shows that even on the BRD market the main problem of Slovenian (and Yugoslav) companies was maintaining a market share—not because of any issues with the quality of Yugoslav products (this analysis even speaks to the contrary), but mainly because Yugoslav companies believed the modern consumer would be persuaded by the products themselves and not so much by the packaging and marketing.

Document AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/39 offers a few more insights pointing to the importance and success of Slovenian–BRD cooperation, which surely contributed to Slovenia becoming somewhat asymmetrically dependant on the BRD (in all senses):

In 1989, the BRD remained the most important country of origin in Yugoslav tourism. German tourists created 44% of Yugoslav tourism turnover. Analysts added in the document that "tourists continue to complain in great numbers about the quality of services, littered environment, stability of entertainment options, poor roads and telephone lines, etc. These shortcomings must be rectified, especially this year [1990] when new tourism routes are opening towards the DDR, Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary".

Joint ventures from Yugoslavia and the BRD increased in 1989; by October 1989, 114 contracts on joint ventures were signed in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia had a current account balance surplus, which can be attributed mainly to remittances by Yugoslav workers in Germany.

Table 1: Cooperation of cities/towns in Slovenia with cities/towns in the BRD in 1989 (Presentation based on AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-8/61).

BRD state	**City/Town in BRD**	**City/Town in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia**
Bavaria	Ingolstadt	Murska Sobota (patronage for the Slovenian cultural and sports association Lastovka)
	München	Trbovlje (patronage for the Slovenian association Triglav)
	Wolfsegg	Podsreda
	Erlangen	Gornja Radgona (patronage for the Slovenian sports association)
	Augsburg	Piran
	Geisenfeld	Žalec
Baden-Württem-berg	Mannheim	Maribor
	Nagold	Jesenice
	Singen	Celje
	Stuttgart	Kranj (patronage for the Slovenian cultural association Triglav)
	Obrigheim	Krško
	Konstanz	Nova Gorica
Hesse	Marburg	Maribor
	Wiesbaden	Ljubljana
North Rhine--Westphalia	Leverkusen	Ljubljana
	Grevenbroich	Celje
	Burscheid	Ormož
Lower Saxony	Langenhagen	Novo mesto

The spilling over of the economy into other spheres of cooperation between the BRD and Slovenia is corroborated by a note of the state Committee on International Cooperation (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-1/2), in which the author admits Slovenia actively worked on boosting relations with the BRD, and especially its individual states

(Bavaria,[16] Baden-Württemberg, North Rhine-Westphalia[17] and Hesse), although different states had a different impact on cooperation with Slovenia. The author of the note points out that Bavaria backed an extraordinary loan of the European Investment Bank[18] for the construction of the Karavanke Tunnel, which was supposed to "connect [the BDR] and northwestern states of the European Community […] with Greece, Turkey and the Middle East". The document also says Slovenia backed the membership of Bavaria in the Alps–Adriatic working group, as both states "cooperate very actively in solving issues of preserving and protecting the environment". With respect to the economy and free flow of workers, it is also worth noting the observations that "President Šinigoj[19] has consistently supported the Slovenian economy towards greater efficacy and competitiveness in penetrating and performing on the demanding market of the Federal Republic of Germany, and constantly striven to improve the legal conditions for investments of foreign capital in our economy," and that he "has consistently stood up for the rights of our workers […] in the BRD and against the planned introduction of entry visas by the BRD for the SFRY".

SLOVENIAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE BRD'S ROLE IN IT[20]

Spirit of the time

The Slovenian road to independence is usually viewed in Slovenia from the perspective of the Slovenian state and the Slovenian people (cf. Bajc et al., 2019), and is therefore perceived as unique. But from the broader diplomatic and international perspective, it should be observed in the context of what went on in the world at the time. This includes the crumbling of the bipolar system, Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost*, geopolitical tendencies towards a structural change on the European continent, the Washington Consensus policies in support of liberal economy, and much more. This is why the relations between the BRD and Slovenia—at least in the first stage—also need to be observed in this context.

In these new geopolitical circumstances, the BRD found itself in a system it could not handle alone. The fall of the Berlin Wall was already a remarkable achievement, but the work had only begun. Tens of millions of DDR citizens had to be integrated, provided with the standard of the BRD, and above all two relatively separate units had to be merged into one unified and strong country. And interestingly, this unified country raised eyebrows particularly in Europe, not outside it. In

16 The high significance of Bavaria as a partner for Slovenia is evident from the information in documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-67/274, AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-1/1 and AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-8/61.

17 Although omitted in this particular note, North Rhine-Westphalia can be found in other related documents.

18 It would probably be fairer to say it helped convince the European Investment Bank to grant the loan.

19 Dušan Šinigoj, President of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia between 1984 and 1990.

20 From here on, we use the term Germany as a generic name for the country created with the merger of the BRD and DDR.

this context it may be a bit surprising that the "new" Germany thought primarily of its own benefits in these geopolitical changes. This is confirmed by Sedmak (2022), saying that the political turmoil in Slovenia was seen as part of the broader political turmoil, but in German eyes not every turmoil was perceived the same as the "German turmoil". He adds that "Chancellor [Helmut] Kohl liked to invoke the right of nations to self-determination", but once Sedmak asked him whether that meant just the German nation or all nations, including smaller ones (referring to Slovenes), he "replied in an annoyed tone that it meant everyone". Naturally, the chancellor's words need to be taken in context, but they are very significant when discussing German–Slovenian relations after 1990. Along with the frame of how they were uttered.

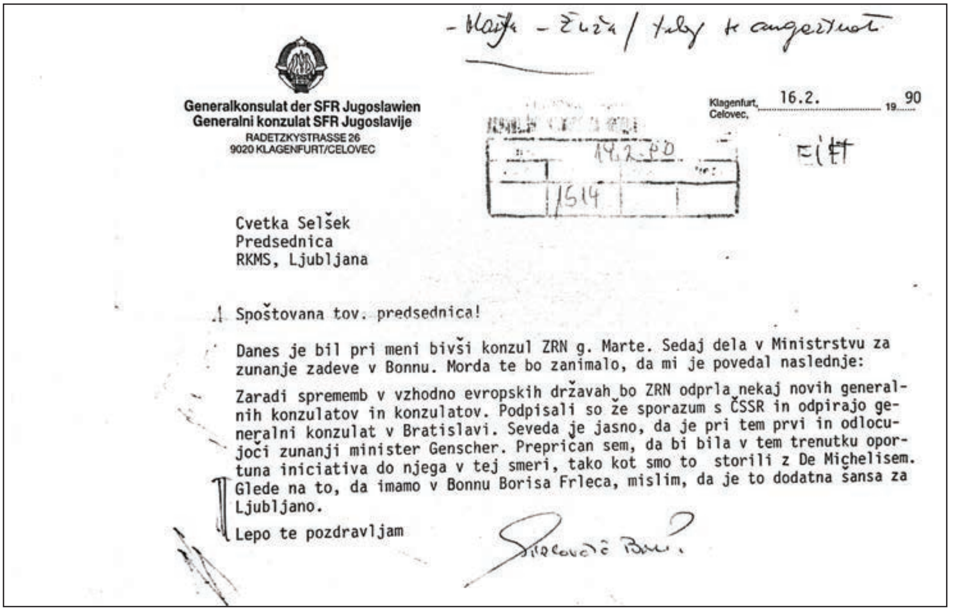
Although oriented very much towards itself, Germany started using the moment in which all this was happening. It started increasing its activity also in central Europe, aiming at attaining additional benefits, but above all spreading its influence policies. Even if Slovenia was outside the key spheres of influence in terms of German interests, since the "new" Germany initially wanted to preserve Yugoslavia in its integral form (cf. Griesser Pečar, 2012, 355–378), Slovenia did the opposite. Its strong attachment to Germany had created a historical sense that these ties could be further deepened—both symbolically and in practice. This is evident from the telegram sent by Borut Miklavčič[21] to Cvetka Selšek[22] on 16 February 1990 (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-2/8) saying:

> *Distinguished comrade president!*
> *Today I had a visit from the former consul of the BRD, Mr Marte.* […] *Due to the changes in eastern European countries, the BRD will open a few new consulates general and consulates.* […] *Clearly Foreign Minister Genscher will have the first and decisive word. I am convinced that an initiative in his direction with respect to this would be opportune at this moment* […]. *Considering that we have Boris Frlec in Bonn, I think that gives Ljubljana a greater chance.*

The telegram confirms the proverbial commitment of the Slovenian foreign policy leadership to use the available opportunities to connect even more with Germany. Establishing a consulate general or at least a consulate in Ljubljana would have practical as well as symbolic significance, so Ljubljana made great efforts to

21 Borut Miklavčič was consul general in Klagenfurt until autumn 1990, when he was replaced by Marijan Majcen (1933–2014). On 25 June 1991, Milan Jazbec came to Klagenfurt as consul to replace Franc Mikša, who switched from the Yugoslav to the Slovenian diplomatic service (Jazbec, 2022). More about the work of the consul in Klagenfurt can be found in Jazbec (2006) and Mikša (2014).

22 Between 1986 and 1990, Cvetka Selšek was president of the State Committee on International Cooperation, where she focused mainly on foreign trade and the foreign currency system.


Generalkonsulat der SFR Jugoslawien
Generalni konzulat SFR Jugoslavije
RADETZKYSTRASSE 26
9020 KLAGENFURT/CELOVEC

Klagenfurt, Celovec, 16.2. 19 90

Cvetka Selšek
Predsednica
RKMS, Ljubljana

Spoštovana tov. predsednica!

Danes je bil pri meni bivši konzul ZRN g. Marte. Sedaj dela v Ministrstvu za zunanje zadeve v Bonnu. Morda te bo zanimalo, da mi je povedal naslednje:

Zaradi sprememb v vzhodno evropskih državah bo ZRN odprla nekaj novih generalnih konzulatov in konzulatov. Podpisali so že sporazum s ČSSR in odpirajo generalni konzulat v Bratislavi. Seveda je jasno, da je pri tem prvi in odločujoči zunanji minister Genscher. Prepričan sem, da bi bila v tem trenutku oportuna iniciativa do njega v tej smeri, tako kot smo to storili z De Michelisem. Glede na to, da imamo v Bonnu Borisa Frleca, mislim, da je to dodatna šansa za Ljubljano.

Lepo te pozdravljam

Fig. 4: The original text of the telegram (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-2/8).

achieve it. This is evident from a handwritten comment on the telegram[23] saying: "Engage immediately." But unfortunately, the efforts did not work out. For another year and a half, the (only) German consulate general remained in Zagreb.

In May 1990, Horst Rudolf, economic advisor at the German embassy in Belgrade visited Ljubljana, where he met with representatives of Ljubljanska banka, Tehnounion and Iskratel, as well as state officials Nevenka Jeglič (State Committee on International Cooperation) and Jože Škoberne (Slovenian Chamber of Commerce). Rudolf repeated the visit half a year later (11–12 October 1990). This time he met with Jurij Detiček (Ljubljanska banka) and Peter Marter (Autocommerce), while the Slovenian Chamber of Commerce reportedly organises a special meeting with interested Slovenian companies (AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-2/8). It was clear that Germany intensified its activities in mid-1990 to help resolve the Yugoslav crisis. An article by Marjan Sedmak (in the daily *Delo* on 5 October 1990; in AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-2/8) alludes to this when reporting that "the German press is no longer convinced Yugoslavia can be saved from dissolution at all" and adding (citing the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*—FAZ) that "Slovenia now expects the international community not to hinder it in the

23 The author of the comment is unknown, since it also says "Vlasta – Žuža" on top (Vlasta is presumably Vlasta Valenčič Pelikan, later a high official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and consul, while it is unclear who Žuža is). We can speculate that the instruction was written by Cvetka Selšek herself.

moment when it establishes its statehood, where the [FAZ] quotes Kučan that Slovenia does not intend to 'break away' from Yugoslavia but will be an equal heir to the dissolved state".

FROM THE PLEBISCITE IN DECEMBER 1990 TO DECLARING INDEPENDENCE IN JUNE 1991

The German leadership was also aware of the pressing crisis in Yugoslavia.[24] On the one hand, they could hardly refuse Slovenes the right to independence while they themselves were in the process of reuniting the eastern part of the country with the west. And at the same time, they were aware Yugoslavia could not survive without reform. This swinging attitude was fully displayed in the inability of even the key bodies to agree on what to do with Yugoslavia. The German intelligence service *Bundesnachrichtendienst* anticipated the break-up of Yugoslavia already soon after Tito's death in 1980, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—led by Hans-Dietrich Genscher since 1982—was much more cautious in its policies towards Yugoslavia. Sedmak (2022) even claims the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs "flirted with the idea of democratic reforms that would keep Yugoslavia part of a so-called grey or buffer zone (Finland, Sweden, Austria, Yugoslavia and partly Ceausescu's Romania)". This is reflected in the last attempt by the BRD to preserve Yugoslavia. While everyone remembers US Secretary of State James Baker's *nyet* to the break-up of Yugoslavia (22 June 1991), memory often fails[25] when it comes to German efforts to preserve Yugoslavia only two days before Baker's visit to Belgrade (19–20 June 1991).

To save what could be saved, Genscher as the chair of the *Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe* (CSCE) adopted a *Statement on the situation in Yugoslavia* stating as follows (CSCE Council, 1991, 9):

> *- Ministers discussed the situation in Yugoslavia.*
> *- They were informed by H.E. the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Budimir Lončar, about the latest developments in Yugoslavia.*
> *- The Ministers expressed their friendly concern and* ***their support for democratic development, unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia****, based on economic reforms, full application of human rights in all parts of Yugoslavia, including the rights of minorities, and the peaceful solution of the current crisis in the country. They called for continued progress in these fields.*
> ***- Ministers stressed that it is only for the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves to***

24 On different interpretations of Slovenia's efforts for independence among German political parties, cf. Griesser Pečar (2012, 355–378).

25 For more on problems remembering and memory in relation to the Slovenian (political) reality, cf. Klabjan (2012); Širok (2012); Luthar (2013); Režek (2014b); Rožac Darovec (2016); Godeša (2019); Pušnik (2019); Verginella (2019); Zajc (2019); Klabjan (2019); Udovič (2020); Kočan & Udovič (2020); Lampe (2021; 2022).

> ***decide on the country's future.*** *Ministers therefore called for a continued dialogue among all parties concerned and confirmed their view that the possibilities for such a dialogue were not yet exhausted.*
> *- They expressed their belief that the existing constitutional disputes should be remedied, and that the way out of the present difficult impasse should be found without recourse to the use of force and in conformity with legal and constitutional procedures. They urged all parties concerned to redouble their efforts to resolve their differences peacefully through negotiations.*
> *-* ***Ministers expressed their confidence that on this basis the international community would stand ready to assist Yugoslavia's efforts to transform itself economically and politically****. [emphases added]*

This Statement is interesting because, on the one hand, it stresses the importance of integrity of Yugoslavia, which is to reform its economy and politics towards greater liberalisation; and at the same time, the ministers at the CSCE meeting pointed out that it was up to the nations of Yugoslavia to decide on the future of their state. A bit of playing pretend about what CSCE members really want can be seen in the last point of the Statement, where the states commit to assist Yugoslavia in its economic and political reforms.

The question that we get to here is why Germany, despite its experience with the DDR, insisted (at least) in principle on saving Yugoslavia as a whole. There is no clear answer: one of the possible answers is that—like other European countries (cf. Bajc et al., 2019; Bajc, 2012; Repe, 2002)—Germany hoped the Yugoslav crisis could be resolved in a peaceful manner, and when it realised this could not be done, it changed its strategy. Another explanation provided by some authors (e.g. Conversi, 1998, 152–153; Lucarelli, 1997, 70–71) is that Germany was afraid of any unilateral action because it was observed with suspicion by other European states—particularly France and the United Kingdom—which did not want Germany to become a "Fourth Reich". Because a new European treaty was being negotiated, laying the foundations of the European Union (and the outlines for the euro), Germany did not want to risk this experiment with unilateral action of recognising states that had not even declared independence. The war that broke out in Slovenia on 26 June 1991 turned the tables in this area as well.

Activities of Slovenian diplomats and politicians in this period

When discussing the role of Slovenian diplomats in the German–Slovenian relations during Slovenia's struggle for independence, we need to mention Boris Frlec, the last Yugoslav ambassador in Bonn (1989–1991), Branko Zupanc, the Yugoslav embassy's press secretary and later head of the information office in Bonn (1991–1992), Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel (1990–1992), Nevenka Jeglič, advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and long-time *éminence grise*



Fig. 5: Boris Frlec and Freiburg District President Norbert Nothhelfer (8 October 1990) (State Archives of Baden-Württemberg, 2022).

of the relations between Slovenia and the BRD, Alojz Peterle, the first Slovenian Prime Minister, and of course the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia Milan Kučan.

Over twenty years had passed between Rudi Čačinovič, who reopened the Yugoslav embassy in Bonn in 1968 after the end of the *Hallstein Doctrine*, and Frlec, who became Yugoslavia's ambassador to Bonn in 1989. During all this time, no Slovene was ambassador in the BRD. It is not clear why, but we can speculate that the Bonn post became so prestigious after the thawing of relations that it was appropriated by Serbs (mainly for the prestige) and Croats (mainly for the diaspora). Slovenes thus did not "get their turn" again until just before the country's break-up. And even that was because "Slovenian politicians forced it" (Frlec, 2012). Nevertheless, Frlec took his post in an embassy staffed mainly by Serbs (out of the 22 employees there, two were Slovene, one was a Croat and the rest were Serbs) (Frlec, 2017). In a time of breaking up with Yugoslavia, when Slovenia's side of the story had to be told, Frlec's job was not easy.



Fig. 6: The Office of Yugoslav Ambassador in Bonn (Boris Frlec Personal Archive).

From his memoirs (Frlec, 2012) we can see that Frlec always played some sort of double agent[26]—he was the official representative of Yugoslavia in Germany, but at the same time he explained the positions of the Slovenian political leadership and reported to Ljubljana.[27] He says: "Germans actually knew for whom I was really working. And they later told me when I returned [as Slovenian ambassador]" (Udovič, 2017). But Frlec had a particularly tough job because the dispatches coming from Belgrade painted a completely different picture than his explanations to his German collocutors. The competence of the Yugoslav and Serbian diplomacy, and particularly their hospitality, grew strongly on German ambassador to Belgrade Hansjörg von Eiff. The situation in Bonn was getting complicated, and got as far as Frlec receiving phone calls in the evening with death threats and similar. Throughout his career and all the way to Slovenian independence, Frlec did his duties exemplary, sometimes even with diplomatic innovation. Frlec (2017) and Sedmak (2022) remember that Frlec would send certain faxes to Ljubljana from Sedmak's apartment, and after leaving Bonn (temporarily), he left part of the diplomatic archive with Sedmak.[28] But while

26 Although he claims he never felt like one.

27 Peterle (2022) points out that Frlec sent very important and reliable information and assessments to Ljubljana.

28 Sedmak (2022) claims he left it in the apartment of his wife.

Frlec and Zupanc worked *in the field*, Rupel, Peterle and Kučan worked *at home*.

Peterle met Helmut Kohl as the most important German politician for the first time at a meeting of the Christian Democrat International in Budapest on 1 July 1990, soon after he became Slovenian Prime Minister. They met informally[29] and Peterle explained to him the desire of the Slovene nation for independence, to which Kohl replied: "If Germans used their right to self-determination, then they cannot refuse Slovenes this same right" (Peterle, 2022). Naturally, Kohl also wanted to know how to do it in a way that the break-up of Yugoslavia would not end up in flames, to which Peterle replied that the Slovenian "right to self-determination and desire for democracy are not a threat to anyone" (Peterle, 2022). Kohl appointed Dr Hans-Peter Repnik as his liaison[30] who would report to Peterle about what went on in German politics. Of course, Kohl's statement cannot be taken out of the context of the changes in the international order taking place at the time, where Germany was primarily interested in consent of both superpowers and less in the Yugoslav crisis (Griesser Pečar, 2012, 363). Therefore, we should also read in this same context Kohl's letter to Yugoslav prime minister Ante Marković (of 19 February 1991), assuring him that Germany stood "firmly on the line assumed by the European Community", supporting Yugoslavia's integrity (Griesser Pečar, 2012, 362). Rupel, as Slovenian foreign minister, had more contact with Frlec and Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Both he and Peterle sensed some reservation in Genscher towards Slovenian independence and the preference for preserving Yugoslavia in one form or another. Rupel corroborates this in his book *Skrivnost države* (1992, 102):

> *19 March was an important day for Slovenian foreign policy. The man of the hour this time was Milan Kučan, who—through a whole series of people (Dragan, Kolšek)*[31]*—made acquaintances in the German FDP, and through it received an invitation to hold a lecture for the German Foreign Policy Association. On this occasion, I visited Hans-Dietrich Genscher in the company of the President. […]* ***At that time Genscher still considered Lončar as his point of reference****, so we were not expecting much more than a reassuring answer. Well, Genscher, […] nevertheless said that* ***Germany respected the right to self-determination****.*[32] *[emphasis added]*

29 Peterle was not prime minister of an internationally recognised state yet, so a formal meeting could not have taken place.

30 Dr Hans-Peter Repnik (whose father was Slovene) was member of the German Bundestag between 1990 and 1991.

31 Zvone Dragan and Danilo Kolšek.

32 Rupel goes on to explain how he attended the meeting of the CSCE in Bonn on 19 June 1991 (mentioned above), for which he received the invitation from the Federal Secretariate for Foreign Affairs to attend as part of the Yugoslav delegation only a day before the meeting. So instead, Rupel was there as a guest of the Austrian delegation, which meant he did not get to sit at the table and could only observe (Rupel, 1992, 130).

PREDSEDSTVO
REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

Kabinet predsednika

Ljubljana, 22.3.1991

ZABELEŽKA

RAZGOVORA PREDSEDNIKA PREDSEDSTVA REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE MILANA KUČANA Z ZUNANJIM MINISTROM NEMČIJE G. HANSOM DIETRICHOM GENSCHERJEM, BONN, 20. MAREC 1991

V razgovoru sta sodelovala še dr. Dimitrij Rupel, republiški sekretar za mednarodno sodelovanje in dr. Boris Frlec, veleposlanik SFRJ v Nemčiji.

Minister Genscher je takoj uvodoma vprašal goste, kaj lahko Nemčija stori za nas. Predsednik Kučan mu je na kratko,v bistvenih potezah orisal sedanje razmere oziroma najnovejša dogajanja v Jugoslaviji in slovenske ocene teh razmer ter slovenske osamosvojitvene težnje.

Minister Genscher je poudaril, da je Nemčija za stabilno Jugoslavijo, ni pa več prepričan, ali lahko ostaja stališče o ohranjanju integritete sednaje Jugoslavije tudi vnaprej edino stališče evropske oziroma mednarodne skupnosti do Jugoslavije. Po njegovem mnenju bi sicer morali upoštevati tudi drugo rešitev, za katero se zavzema tudi Slovenija, ni pa prepričan, da bi lahko ta imela uspeh. Večkrat v toku razgovora je poudaril, da so proti uporabi sile v razreševanju jugoslovanske krize. Zavzel se je za spoštovanje pravic nacij (izrecno je govoril o nacijah) v Jugoslaviji. Zanimalo ga je, ali so republike sposobne preživeti v primeru razdružitve. Tudi po njegovem mnenju morajo ostati meje znotraj Jugoslavije nespremenjene, šele s procesom eventualnega razdruževanja se bi zastavljalo vprašanje eventualnega njihovega spreminjanja. Poudaril je, da se seveda Nemčija ne želi vmešavati v notranje zadeve Jugoslavije. Dezintegracije Jugoslavije ne želijo pospeševati,

Fig. 7: Note by Marjan Šiftar on Milan Kučan's visit to Bonn (19–20 March 1991) (Šiftar, 1991).

Rupel underscores here Genscher's lack of resolve in recognition of Slovenia and his attachment to Belgrade. We can probably interpret this position on three levels: Firstly, on the level of resolving the situation in Germany as mentioned with Kohl. Then on the level of Germany's lack of interest in Yugoslavia and desire for no real change in the international order apart from Germany's reunification. The third level is that of federal authorities—Germany received completely different information from Belgrade than from Ljubljana. And formally, Belgrade was still the main official interlocutor then. Everyone else was unofficial.

Rupel and Peterle's understanding of Genscher's policy is partly confirmed by the note by Marjan Šiftar (1991, 1–2) on Milan Kučan's visit to Genscher (20 March 1991), stating that the latter said:

> ***Germany wants a stable Yugoslavia****, but he is no longer certain whether* ***the position on preserving the integrity of current Yugoslavia could remain the only position of the European and international community with respect to Yugoslavia****. […] Germans do not wish to further a disintegration of Yugoslavia, but they would accept a democratic and consensual decision.* ***If Slovenia were to break away, they would acknowledge this.*** *[emphasis added]*

The note continues with an account of Kučan's warning that some messages from the Twelve[33] could be interpreted as support for preserving Yugoslavia as is, which Genscher confirmed, adding that

> *in these positions, the stresses should be changed,* ***putting first the right to self-determination*** *and preservation of current internal borders, and* ***treating both possible options equally or in a balanced manner*** *(preserving integrity or disintegration).*

Such a *diplomatic* position was, of course, not really what the Slovenian authorities wanted, but was still better than a clear stance that Yugoslavia must be preserved at all costs.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Thirty years after the Republic of Slovenia declared independence is certainly an apt moment to re-evaluate the views, positions and activities of different countries of the international community in this process—from the plebiscite in December 1990 to the declaration of independence in June 1991. It is not only a matter of historiographical necessity and preventing reality being replaced by ideology, but also of critically evaluating the time the idea and then reality of Slovenia's independence took place.

33 Common name for the twelve members of the European Communities.

This article aimed to establish how much the political, economic and cultural relations Slovenia had built with the BRD already as part of Yugoslavia impacted the German position on Slovenia's struggle for independence. The findings paint a different picture from the one generally accepted in Slovenia.

The first finding is that, all the way until 25 June 1991, German politicians leaned more towards preserving Yugoslavia and did not regard Slovenian independence as a realistic and optimal option. There are three reasons for this: Firstly, Germany had to take care of its own reunification process first (with all the issues that came along). Secondly, Germany did not wish a reshuffling of the entire international structure, nor was it ready for that. Thirdly, Germany did not really wish Yugoslavia to fall apart (cf. DW, 2022), and would have preferred its reform and restructuring. On the one hand, Germany thought Yugoslavia could reform into a democratic country with a market economy—a process that had just begun in former East Germany. At the same time, they were aware that a break-up of Yugoslavia would end up in bloodshed. All this deterred Germany from supporting the emancipatory desires for independent Slovenia and Croatia. These desires were acknowledged at most.

The second finding, deriving in part from the first, is that there was another reason behind Germany's support for the integrity (and perhaps democratisation) of Yugoslavia—German economic interests. The latter had grown, particularly after the end of the *Hallstein Doctrine* and start of Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, to a level that we could say Yugoslavia was almost somewhat of a German economic colony. This is confirmed by the staggering growth in bilateral trade in the early 1970s, and the systemic regulation and selection of workers "sent" from Yugoslavia to Germany. Yet, this semi-colonial status of Yugoslavia came more or less on a voluntary basis. While Germany was interested in cheap but quality labour force, Yugoslavia wanted an influx of foreign currency. Consequently, both countries did nothing more than pursue their national interests. And both were happy with it. Taking this aspect into account, it is clear why Germany wanted to keep Yugoslavia alive. And where was the place of Slovenia and its economic and cultural ties with Germany? Above all in a strong connection with Bavaria, while "Slovenian power" did not reach much further. Although Bavaria was ruled by the CDU's sister party CSU, federal-level coalitions with the liberals were always a matter of compromise, both in domestic and foreign policy. We can, therefore, conclude that the Slovenian economic and cultural ties with Bavaria did not have much of an impact on Germany's views on the Slovenian question.

What changed the Germany's position on Slovenian independence? The war in Slovenia. This was the first war on European soil after 1945, and images from 1941–1945 emerged from the memories of German politicians. And this could not be allowed, which led to a position shift and a swift reaction. On 2 July 1991, Genscher met with the Slovenian leadership in Celovec (Klagenfurt), and Germany soon started putting pressure on other European countries to take the new situation in the Balkans into consideration and respond the new geopolitical situation. Here Germans differed from Italians and others, who continued to insist for a long time that Yugoslavia should be preserved in one piece. Some say the German position was partly due to frequent

Austrian calls to Bonn out of fear that the fighting might cross the Yugoslav borders; others claim that the main reason for the later German affection was more party-related, since particularly the German conservatives looked at the newly arisen situation in Yugoslavia with sympathy and understanding. It is too early for such judgements, since archives have only been opened recently. But one thing remains certain: despite its initial reservation and preference for preserving Yugoslavia, Germany caught the historical moment to further strengthen Slovenian trust.

Thirty years on, the relations on the German–Slovenian line are excellent; it could be said that for some more excellent than for others. Who is which is left to readers to judge.

»DANKE DEUTSCHLAND!«: POLITIČNO-DIPLOMATSKI PRISPEVEK ZVEZNE REPUBLIKE NEMČIJE K NASTANKU SLOVENSKE DRŽAVE

Boštjan UDOVIČ

Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Center za mednarodne odnose,

Kardeljeva ploščad 5, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

e-mail: bostjan.udovic@fdv.uni-lj.si

POVZETEK

Članek raziskuje slovensko-nemške odnose, pri čemer se osredinja na odnose med Zvezno republiko Nemčijo in Republiko Slovenijo v času od decembra 1990 do junija 1991. Gre za čas, ko je Slovenija izrazila svoj emancipacijski potencial in se odločila za razglasitev samostojnosti, pri tem pa iskala mednarodno podporo, predvsem pri Zvezni republiki Nemčiji, ki jo je zaradi zgodovinskih, političnih in gospodarskih vezi razumela kot prijateljsko državo. Zgodovina slovensko-nemških odnosov je pestra, sploh če jo analiziramo skozi dolgo 19. stoletje, začetke 20. stoletja ter drugo svetovno vojno. Kljub nastanku slovenskega naroda kot antipoda nemškemu se vezi, ki so bile med dvema narodnostnima skupnostma vzpostavljene v Avstro-Ogrski, niso nikoli zares pretrgale, le spremenile so se – iz političnih in ideoloških so postajale vse bolj gospodarske. In takšne so v veliki meri ostale vse do danes. A prav gospodarsko-kulturne vezi (brez ideoloških primesi) ter navezanost slovenskega gospodarstva v Jugoslaviji na Zvezno republiko Nemčijo so pri Slovencih vzpostavile občutek, da je Nemčija izjemno prijateljska država, ki bo razumela slovenske emancipacijske težnje ter hitro priznala slovensko samostojnost. Na drugi strani v takratnem Bonnu razpadu Jugoslavije niso bili preveč naklonjeni. Bali so se, kaj bi to prineslo, a hkrati tudi preračunljivo vedeli, da razpad Jugoslavije ne bi bil slaba novica samo za varnost v regiji, ampak tudi za nemško gospodarstvo. Zato so bili zelo previdni, ko so jih slovenski politiki in diplomati znotraj svojih aktivnosti prepričevali, da je treba Slovenijo čimprej priznati. A kot vedno je zgodovina šla svojo pot. Če so v Bonnu še junija 1991 upali, da se Jugoslavijo morda da rešiti, jim je z napadom Jugoslovanske ljudske armade na Slovenijo hitro postalo jasno, da »Jugoslavije ni več« ter da je mednarodnopolitična stvarnost drugačna, kot so si jo sami želeli. Zato so svojo politiko do novonastalih držav kmalu po izbruhu vojne spremenili in iz »ohranjevalca Jugoslavije« postali »sponzor samostojne Slovenije« ter si s tem nakopali kar nekaj dvignjenih obrvi pri drugih članicah Evropskih skupnosti.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, Zvezna republika Nemčija, slovensko-nemški odnosi, diplomacija, osamosvojitev Slovenije

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Ajlec, Kornelija (2017): Slovenia and the UN in the Correspondence of the Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar, 1991–1992. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 755–768.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-1/1: Dopis Radenske Republiškemu komiteju za mednarodno sodelovanje. 10 January 1984. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/37: Hronološki pregled nemačko-jugoslovenskih odnosa od 1968. godine. ND. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-6/39: 20 Najmočnejših držav v blagovni menjavi Slovenije v letu 1989. ND. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-8/61: Seznam sodelovanja mest in občin v SR Sloveniji z mesti oz. občinami v ZR Nemčiji. ND. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-1/2: Zabeležka. 5 December 1989. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-2/8: Generalkonsulat der SFR Jugoslawien. Telegram Cvetki Selšek. 16 February 1990. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-2/8: Delovni obisk vodje ekonomske službe Veleposlaništva Zvezne republike Nemčije v Beogradu svetnika gospoda Horsta Rudolfa v Republiki Sloveniji. 8 October 1990. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

AMZZ-ZE-ZRN-67/274: Obisk Generalnega konzula [na Bavarskem] Rudića pri slovenskih oblasteh in obratno. 15 November 1990 and 1 June 1990. Internal materials, MFA Archives.

Arbeiter, Jana (2019): Symbolic Importance of Diplomatic Protocol: Common Heritage and Order of Precedence of Seven Countries of Former Yugoslavia. Revista românæa de ştiinţe politice, 19, 2, 157–174.

Arbeiter, Jana & Boštjan Udovič (2017): Does the Mediterranean Exist in States’ Diplomatic Rituals?: A Comparison of Mediterranean States’ *préséance*. International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean studies, 10, 2, 79–106.

Bajc, Gorazd (2014): Dietro le quinte della visita di Tito a Roma nel 1971: il contesto locale e internazionale letto dalla diplomazia britannica. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 713–732.

Bajc, Gorazd (2012): Italija, razpad Jugoslavije ter osamosvojitev in mednarodno priznanje Slovenije. Studia Historica Slovenica, 12, 2–3, 379–400.

Bajc, Gorazd, Osojnik Janez & Darko Friš (2019): Nekateri vidiki mednarodnega priznanja Slovenije s posebnim ozirom na ameriški pogled, junij 1991–april 1992. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 1, 217–256.

Bedina, Katarina (1994): Neupoštevani vir za umevanje cecilijanstva na Slovenskem: polemično pričevanje Stanislava Škrabca. Muzikološki zbornik, 30, 65–70.

Bettzuege, Reinhard (ed.) (1995): Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumente von 1949 bis 1994. Köln, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik von Nottbeck.

Bister, Felix (1992): Anton Korošec: državnozborski poslanec na Dunaju. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica.

Bogetić, Dragan (2014): Jugoslavija i nesvrstanost: prilog prevazilaženju predrasuda i stereotipa. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 615–624.

Bondžić, Dragomir (2014): Školovanje studenata iz zemalja u razvoju kao deo spoljne politike Jugoslavije 1950–1961. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 637–648.

Brey, Thomas (1979): Bonn und Belgrad: Die Beziehungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Jugoslawien seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Osteuropa, 29, 8, 632–644.

CIA dispatch (2011): Yugoslav Foreign Trade in 1949 and 1950. CIA-RDP80-00809A000700070149-8, 1–3. https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80-00809A000700070149-8.pdf (last access: 2020-07-03).

Conversi, Daniele (1998): German Shadows in the Balkan Wilderness: International Reaction to the Recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. Revija za sociologiju, 29, 3–4, 141–165.

CSCE Council (1991): First Meeting of the Council. Summary of Conclusions. Statement on the Situation in Yugoslavia. https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/5/1/40234.pdf (last access: 2022-05-05).

Cvetković, Vladimir Lj. (2014): Jugoslavija i istočnoevropske zemlje u susedstvu 1953–1958: opservacija, akcija, rezultati. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 649–660.

Čavoški, Jovan (2014): Od Alpa do Himalaja: ambasador Dušan Kveder i razvoj jugoslovensko-indijskih odnosa. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 625–636.

DW – Deutsche Welle (2022): Tajni njemački dokumenti o raspadu Jugoslavije. https://www.dw.com/bs/tajni-njema%C4%8Dki-dokumenti-o-raspadu-jugoslavije/a-60937001 (last access: 2022-24-05).

Fink, Carol & Bernd Schaefer (ed.) (2009): Ostpolitik, 1969–1974. Cambridge, German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press.

Frlec, Boris (2012): Prispevek k nastajanju slovenske diplomacije. Zapisi diplomatov ob 20-letnici mednarodnega priznanja Slovenije. Ljubljana, Ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve.

Frlec, Boris (2017): Personal interview. Ljubljana, 24 February 2017.

Godeša, Bojan (2019): Slovenian Historiography in the Grip of Reconciliation. Zeitgeschichte, 46, 2, 205–224.

Gonzáles Villa, Carlos (2017): From "Pessimism" to Geopolitical Instrumentalisation: Revisting the US Policy Towards Dying Yugoslavia. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 699–712.

Grafenauer, Danijel (2014): Prizadevanje za narodnostni obstoj oziroma oživljanje nemško govoreče etnične skupine prebivalcev v Sloveniji po letu 1991. In: Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera & Damir Josipović (eds.): Zgodovinski, politološki, pravni in kulturološki okvir za definicijo narodne manjšine v Republiki Sloveniji. Ljubljana, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 95–126.

Grdina, Igor (2005): Pesem ima moč. Dokumentarni film ob 100. obletnici uglasbitve slovenske državne himne. Broadcast on RTV Slovenija, 26 April 2019.

Griesser Pečar, Tamara (2012): Vloga Nemčije pri osamosvojitvi Slovenije. Studia Historica Slovenica, 12, 2–3, 355–368.

Hacke, Christian (2004): Die Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland – Von Konrad Adenauer bis Gerhard Schröder. 2nd Edition. Berlin, Ullstein.

Ilić, Aleksandra (2010): Socialno in ekonomsko življenje migrantov iz nekdanje SFRJ v Berlinu pred padcem zidu in po tem. Diplomsko delo. Ljubljana, Fakulteta za socialno delo.

Ivanović, Vladimir (2013): Die Beschäftigung jugoslawischer Arbeitskräfte in Österreich in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren. Zeitgeschichte, 40, 1, 35–49.

Jazbec, Milan (2006): Slovenec v Beogradu: 1987–1991. Pohanca, Samozaložba.

Jazbec, Milan (2022): E-mail correspondence. Ljubljana, Salzburg, 4 May 2022.

Jenuš, Gregor & Darko Friš (2017): Specialna vojna: prispevek o ukrepih jugoslovanskih organov za notranje zadeve pri nadzoru državne meje in v boju proti ″zunanjim″ in ″notranjim sovražnikom″. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 777–792.

Kapetanović, Mišo (2022): Yugoslav Labor Migrants Emerging as the Austrian Working Class. Zeitgeschichte, 49, 1, 87–111.

Klabjan, Borut (2012): "Partizanska pokrajina": Partizanski spomeniki in komemoriranje partizanov na tržaškem. Acta Histriae, 20, 4, 669–692.

Klabjan, Borut (2013): "Transnacionalne politike, nacionalna diplomacija"? Slovenci in delovna skupnost Alpe-Jadran, 1978–1991. Acta Histriae, 21, 3, 409–426.

Klabjan, Borut (ed.) (2019): Borderlands of Memory. Adriatic and Central European Perspectives. Oxford, Peter Lang.

Kočan, Faris & Boštjan Udovič (2020): Diplomacija s (kolektivnim) spominom: kako preteklost vpliva na izvajanje diplomacije? Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 30, 3, 457–468.

Kosanović, Milan (2009): Brandt and Tito between Ostpolitik and Nonalignment. In: Fink, Carol & Bernd Schaefer (eds.): Ostpolitik, 1969–1974. Cambridge, German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 232–243.

Lampe, Urška (2021): Spomin in pozaba v Jugoslaviji po drugi svetovni vojni: primer taborišča Borovnica v Sloveniji. Acta Histriae, 29, 1, 135–158.

Lampe, Urška (2022): The Repatriation of Italian Prisoners of War from Yugoslavia after the Second World War (1945–7). Journal of Contemporary History, 51, 1, 68–89.

Levstik, Fran (1884): V Gorici. Ljubljanski zvon, 4, 10, 632.

Lucarelli, Sonia (1997): Germany's recognition of Slovenia and Croatia: An institutionalist perspective. The International Spectator, 32, 2, 65–91.

Luthar, Oto (2013): Forgetting does (not) Hurt: Historical Revisionism in Post-Socialist Slovenia. Nationalities Papers, 41, 6, 882–892.

Mikša, Franc (2014): Njegova Ekscelenca Christian Grasset. Dob pri Domžalah, Miš.

Moric, Anja (2021): Are the Gottschee Germans in Diaspora a Part of Slovene Emigration? Razprave in gradivo / Treatises and Documents, 87, 127–149.

Nećak, Dušan (1991): Hallsteinova doktrina in Jugoslavija. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 31, 2, 155–166.

Nećak, Dušan (2013a): "Ostpolitik" Willyja Brandta in Jugoslavija (1963–1969). 1st ed. Ljubljana, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete.

Nećak, Dušan (2013b): Ponovna navezava diplomatskih stikov med Zvezno republiko Nemčijo in Socialistično federativno republiko Jugoslavijo ter reakcija Nemške demokratične republike nanjo. Acta Histriae, 21, 3, 377–388.

Nećak, Dušan (2014): Slovenski diplomati v nemško-jugoslovanskih odnosih 1949–1973. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 703–712.

Nećak, Dušan (2017): Jugoslavija kot "poseben primer/Sonderfall" v zahodnonemški zunanji politiki. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 57, 2, 111–123.

Peterle, Alojz (2022): E-mail interview. Ljubljana, Salzburg, 6 June 2022.

Petrović, Vladimir (2014): Josip Broz Tito's Summit Diplomacy in the International Relations of Socialist Yugoslavia 1944–1961. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 577–592.

Pirjevec, Jože (2014): Iskanje socializma s človeškim obrazom. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 763–778.

Pirjevec, Jože (2016): Jugoslovanska kriza v arhivu Stasi (1980–1989). Acta Histriae, 24, 3, 643–662.

Portmann, Michael & Karlo Ruzicic-Kessler (2014): Yugoslavia and Its Western Neighbours 1945–1980. Zeitgeschichte, 41, 5, 296–311.

Pušnik, Maruša (2019): Media-based Historical Revisionism and the Public's Memories of the Second World War. Zeitgeschichte, 46, 2, 241–260.

Radić, Radmila (2014): Jugoslavija i Vatikan 1918–1992. godine. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 691–702.

Radojević, Mira (2014): Savez "Oslobodjenje" o spoljnoj politici jugoslovenske države (1948–1961). Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 681–690.

Rahten, Andrej (2013): Slovenski diplomati v začetnih letih jugoslovanskega stalnega predstavništva pri OZN. Acta Histriae, 21, 3, 389–408.

Rahten, Andrej (2014): Kraljevi ali maršalovi diplomati? Politične dileme in opredelitve slovenskih diplomatov na prehodu iz monarhistične v komunistično Jugoslavijo. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 563–576.

Ramšak, Jure (2010): Poskus rekonstrukcije položaja preostanka nemške narodne skupnosti na Slovenskem po koncu množičnih izseljevanj. In: Štih, Peter & Bojan Balkovec (eds.): Migracije in slovenski prostor od antike do danes. Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev, 600–615.

Ramšak, Jure (2014): "Socialistična" gospodarska diplomacija: dejavnost Socialistične republike Slovenije na področju mednarodnih ekonomskih odnosov 1974–1980. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 733–748.

Ramšak, Jure (2015): Poskus drugačne globalizacije: slovensko gospodarstvo in dežele v razvoju 1970–1990. Acta Histriae, 23, 4, 765–782.

Ramšak, Jure (2017): "From Skadarlija to Downing Street": Velika Britanija in začetek jugoslovanske krize, 1980–1985. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 687–698.

Ramšak, Jure (2022): Shades of North-South Economic Détente: Non-Aligned Yugoslavia and Neutral Austria Compared. In: Stubbs, Paul (ed.): Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement: Social, Cultural, Political, and Economic Imaginaries. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press. Forthcoming.

Repe, Božo (2002): Jutri je nov dan: Slovenci in razpad Jugoslavije. Ljubljana, Modrijan.

Repe, Božo (2017): Vloga Milana Kučana v slovenski zunanji politiki. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 743–754.

Režek, Mateja (2014a): Vroča jesen 1956: sueška kriza, madžarska vstaja in vloga Jugoslavije. Annales. Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 601–614.

Režek, Mateja (2014b): Usmerjena preteklost: mehanizmi ideološke in politične "kontaminacije" zgodovinopisja v socialistični Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji (1945–1966). Acta Histriae, 22, 4, 971–992.

Režek, Mateja (2017): "Izraelska zveza": tajni stiki med Jugoslavijo in Izraelom v osemdesetih letih. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 671–686.

Rožac Darovec, Vida (2016): Komemoriranje TIGR-a v kontekstu politike spominjanja na Primorskem po letu 1991. Acta Histriae, 24, 4, 891–904.

Rullman, Hans Peter (1969): Zwei jahrzehnte Deutsch-Jugoslawische Beziehungen: Eine Chronologie derereignisse. Osteuropa, 19, 1, 50–58.

Rupel, Dimitrij (1992): Skrivnost države. Ljubljana, Delo.

Rupel, Dimitrij (2013): Managing Yugoslav Crises Conference on Yugoslavia in the Hague (1991) and the Challenges of Multilateral Diplomacy. Acta Histriae, 21, 3, 329–360.

Ruzicic-Kessler, Karlo (2018): Avvicinamento e cooperazione interregionale: La Jugoslavia nei rapporti di vicinato con l'Austria e l'Italia (1968–1978). Acta Histriae, 26, 3, 787–806.

Samide, Irena & Tanja Žigon (2020): Die (un)bekannten Gottscheer: von der gedruckten Geschichte zur virtuellen Heimat. Germanoslavica, 31, 1/2, 73–90.

Savezni zavod za statistiku (1989): Jugoslavija 1918-1988: Statistički godišnjak. Beograd, Savezni zavod za statistiku.

Sedmak, Marjan (2022): E-mail interview. Ljubljana, Salzburg, 3 May 2022.

Selinić, Slobodan (2014): Jugoslovenska diplomatija 1945–1950: stvaranje partijske diplomatije. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 553–562.

Stamova, Marijana (2014): Bulgarian-Yugoslav Relations and the Macedonian Question (1948–1963). Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 661–670.

State Archive of Baden-Württemberg (2022): Boris Frlec, jugoslawischer Botschafter, bei Regirungspräsident Norbert Nothhelfer. https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/bild_zoom/zoom.php?bestand=23088&id=3074947&gewaehlteSeite=05_0000797093_0001_5-797093-1.png&screenbreite=1920&screenhoehe=1080 (last access: 2022-05-05).

Statistics Office of the Republic of Slovenia (1960–1991): Statistični letopis. Ljubljana, Statistics Office.

Šiftar, Marjan (1991): Zabeležka razgovora Predsednika predsedstva Republike Slovenije Milana Kučana z zunanjim ministrom Nemčije g. Hansom Dietrichom Genscherjem, Bonn, 20 March 1991. Archive of the Office of the President of the Republic of Slovenia.

Širok, Kaja (2012): Kolektivni spomin, pričevalec in zgodovina: diskurzivne konstrukcije preteklosti. Acta Histriae, 20, 1–2, 137–150.

Udovič, Boštjan (2016): "Vodili smo bitko za uresničenje našega načrta ---": prispevek slovenskih stalnih predstavnikov k Organizaciji združenih narodov. Teorija in praksa, 53, 3, 761–776.

Udovič, Boštjan (2017): "We Told the Truth About Yugoslavia …": Slovenian (para)diplomats in 1990–1992. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 713–730.

Udovič, Boštjan (2020): Memoirism hype: why do Slovenian diplomats write memoirs? Acta neophilologica, 53, 1/2, 153–166.

Udovič, Boštjan (2022): "Going International": The (non-)importance of Non-aligned Countries' Markets in the Foreign Economic Relations of Yugoslavia. Zeitgeschichte, 49, 1, 11–32.

Udovič, Boštjan & Danijela Vojinović Jaćimović (2019): Osamosvojitev držav in "pozaba" zgodovinskih dosežkov: primer ne-nadaljevanja gospodarske diplomacije Jugoslavije v Sloveniji in Črni gori po njuni osamosvojitvi. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 29, 1, 55–68.

Verginella, Marta (2019): Political Remake of Slovenian History and Trivialisation of Memory. Zeitgeschichte, 46, 2, 189–204.

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961/1964): UNTS 500, p. 95. https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf (last access: 2022-05-05).

Wikimedia (2022): Treffen Bundeskanzler Willy Brandt mit Staatspräsident Tito im Schloß Röttgen. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_B_145_Bild-F032669-0029,_Bonn,_Brandt_mit_Staatspr%C3%A4sident_Tito.jpg (last access: 2022-05-05).

Zajc, Marko (2019): The Politics of Memory in Slovenia and the Erection of the Monument to the Victims of all Wars. Zeitgeschichte, 46, 2, 225–240.

Zupančič, Rok (2016): Preprečevanje, prepričevanje, obžalovanje: ZDA, razpad SFRJ in diplomatsko (ne)priznanje neodvisnosti in samostojnosti Republike Slovenije (1990–1992). Teorija in praksa, 53, 2, 312–344.

Zvezni Sekretariat za zunanje zadeve (1975): Stanje i problemi u radu mreže naših predstavništava u inostranstvu i predlog mera za otklanjanje izvesnih nepravilnosti i negativnih pojava kao i za rešenje nekih otvorenih problema organiziranog nastupa u inostranstvu. Priloga 1. Beograd, Savezni Sekretariat za inostrane poslove, 18. februar 1975.

Žigon, Tanja & Petra Kramberger (2014): Presseerzeugnisse als Aushängeschilder der nationalen Zugehörigkeit?: die Suprematie der Deutschen über die Slowenen in der untersteirischen Publizistik des 19. Jahrhunderts. Germanoslavica, 25, 1, 27–42.

Životić, Aleksandar (2014): Insistiranje na principima? Jugoslavija i počeci rata u Koreji (1950–1951). Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 4, 593–600.

Inštitut
IRRIS